

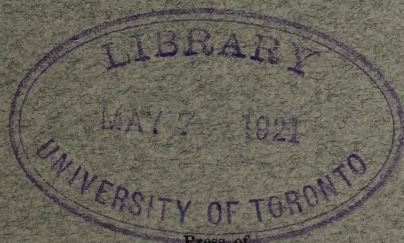
Campbell
LE
C.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE LIFE AND POETRY OF
JOHN CUTTS

BY
STANLEY SIMPSON SWARTLEY

A THESIS
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



Press of
DEPUTY BROTHERS COMPANY
Sixty-third Street and Dicks Avenue
PHILADELPHIA

1917



3 1761 09704729 4

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE LIFE AND POETRY OF
JOHN CUTTS

BY
STANLEY SIMPSON SWARTLEY

A THESIS
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Press of
DEPUTY BROTHERS COMPANY
Sixty-third Street and Dicks Avenue
PHILADELPHIA

1917

TO
MY FATHER AND MY MOTHER

PREFACE

This study of the life and poetry of John Cutts was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Felix E. Schelling. Lord Cutts' volume, *Poetical Exercises*, 1687, is comparatively rare and has not heretofore been reprinted. The present text is a careful reprint of the copy in the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professors Felix E. Schelling and Clarence G. Child for guidance and helpful criticisms; and to Professor Edwin P. Cheyney for several fruitful suggestions. It is only thru the kindness of the Marquess of Ormonde, Kilkenny Castle, Ireland, and the Historical Manuscripts Commission that I have had the use of about eighty of Lord Cutts' letters heretofore inaccessible. For arranging and sending to me copies of these letters I am indebted to Mr. F. Elrington Ball, who has been calendaring for the Commission the papers in Kilkenny Castle. I am under obligations to Mr. Richard Bagwell, Clonmel, Ireland, the library staff of the University of Pennsylvania, and the librarians of Columbia and Yale Universities for courtesies of various kinds. And finally I am indebted to my wife for many suggestions, as well as for the preparation of the manuscript for the printer and the reading of the proof.

Philadelphia,

S. S. S.

April 24, 1917.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

I.	ANCESTRY, EARLY YEARS, EDUCATION - - - - -	ix
II.	COURT AND EARLY MILITARY LIFE - - - - -	xii
III.	SERVICE IN IRELAND, BARONY, AND MARRIAGE - -	xviii
IV.	SERVICE AGAINST FRANCE UNDER WILLIAM AND MARLBOROUGH - - - - -	xxi
V.	POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, SECOND MARRIAGE, REVERSES	xxx
VI.	COMMANDER IN IRELAND, LAST DAYS, CONTEMPORARY ESTEEM - - - - -	xxxv
VII.	POETRY, AND RELATIONS TO WRITERS - - - - -	xxxix
	THE POEMS OF JOHN CUTTS - - - - -	1
	NOTES - - - - -	28
	BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - -	35

INTRODUCTION

I

ANCESTRY, EARLY YEARS, EDUCATION

John Cutts is confessedly a minor figure in English literature; nevertheless, he played an important part in many other activities of his time. A companion of William upon the Prince's coming to England in 1688, he remained a trusted friend of the King throughout the reign. A hero in many battles, he had a share with Marlborough in the glory of Blenheim, Cutts' last and greatest fight. He was also active in politics; for fourteen years he was governor of the Isle of Wight, and for over thirteen years he sat in Parliament. It is true that he wrote most of his poetry before he was thirty; but he at least partly redeemed his later years for literature by his patronage of Richard Steele. An active participant in many worthy activities, and a poet as well, John Cutts is not without interest, therefore, to the student of English literature.

The records of the Cutte or Cutts family go back to the sixteenth century.¹ There are two branches: the Horham and the Childerley branch, in which Sir John Cutte (d. 1520) is the first member whose name we know; and the Arkesden branch, with Richard Cutte, the brother of Sir John, as the first.

The name John was a favorite one with the family, for the poet was at least the ninth to be called John. Sir John Cutte, of Horham Hall, who died in 1520, was the first.² He built Horham Hall, acquired great estates, and was under-treasurer to Henry VIII.³ The third Sir John (d. 1554 or 1555) was sheriff of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and

¹The Latin names, Cutus de Lincoln and Willelmus Cutte, are recorded in 1273 and 1319 respectively, but nothing definite is known concerning these persons. Barber, *British Family Names*, 220.

²For the genealogy of the family, see *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, article by King, H. W., IV. 25-42; Wright, T., *History of Essex*, II, 171 ff., 236. Wright gives a copy of the genealogical inscription on the altar tomb in the church at Arkesden.

³*Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 8th Report, Appendix, Part VII, 18a. The inscription at Arkesden states that he was treasurer.

Essex; and was sent in 1551 on a mission to Henry II of France.⁴ The fourth Sir John (d. 1615) suggests Chaucer's Franklin:

An housholdere, and that a greet, was he;
Seint Julian he was in his contree,

for he was noted for his housekeeping, and Queen Elizabeth sent the Spanish ambassador to Sir John's manor house at Childerley to be cared for during a period of illness. Charles I stayed on June 6-7, 1647, at Childerley with the fifth Sir John Cutts.^{4a}

The John Cutts in whom we are immediately interested is a direct descendant in the Arkesden line. Tho this branch of the family was less prominent than the Horham and the Childerley branch, several of the Arkesden line were esquires or Members of the Inner Temple. The fortunes of the two lines were united in 1670, when Sir John Cutte, sixth of the Horham line, died without issue. He made Richard Cutte, of Arkesden, his heir; and this Richard was the father of the poet.^{4b}

Richard Cutte was a man of property and a squire. He had married Jane,⁵ the daughter of Sir Richard Everarde, of Much Waltham, Essex.⁶ The family had been established there since 1515.^{6a} Of the poet's mother nothing more is known.⁷

John Cutts was born probably in 1661^{7a} at Woodhall, Arkesden, Essex.⁸ Woodhall, the mansion house, had come into the family early in the sixteenth century.⁹ Of the poet's childhood the records tell us next to nothing. As there were other children, an elder brother, Richard, and three sisters,¹⁰ Anne, Margaret, and Joanna, it is not likely that he was lonely. If the boy is father to the man, the boy John lived a restless, active life, and was something of a leader among

⁴ Hoby, Thomas, *Travails and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby*, 66.

^{4a} Masson, David, *Life of Milton*, III, 542.

^{4b} *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, *ibid.*

⁵ According to *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, *ibid.*, her name was Joan.

⁶ *Visitation of Essex*, 1664-1668, p. 34.

^{6a} Morant, Philip, *The History and Antiquities of Essex*, II, 87.

⁷ The Cutts family in America is descended from two brothers, who emigrated prior to 1646; and another brother and a sister who came later. According to tradition, their father was Richard Cutte, Esq., of Grondale Abbey, Arkesden, Essex, who married a widow named Skelton. See Cutts, Cecil H., *Genealogy of the Cutts Family in America*, Albany, 1892. King, *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, *ibid.*, makes no mention of such a marriage.

^{7a} In the marriage license dated 1690, he said that he was about twenty-nine years old. *London Marriage Licenses*, 1521-1869, p. 370.

⁸ Walpole, Horace, *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, 1759, II, 244; and Nichols, *Select Collection of Poetry*, 1780, II, 327, imply that he was born in Matching in Essex, but King shows rather conclusively by baptismal records that he was really born in Arkesden.

⁹ Wright, T., *History of Essex*, II, 171 ff.

¹⁰ *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, *ibid.*

his fellows. When John was eight or nine years old, his father died; and the property bequeathed by the collateral relative, Sir John Cutte, to Richard Cutte, of Arkesden, passed upon Sir John's death in 1670 to Richard, the elder son,¹¹ now the possessor of a considerable fortune.

Of John's early school life we know nothing. Our first record of him comes from 1676. In February of that year he was registered at St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, at the age of fifteen as a fellow commoner,¹² a title indicative of wealth and of the possession of special university privileges.

Fellow students at St. Catharine's were William Wotton, the noted scholar, who entered when nine years old; John Calamy and James Calamy, sons of Dr. Edward Calamy, the non-conformist;¹³ Benjamin Beversham, and a Bentley, probably Richard.

Several plausible reasons may be adduced for the choice of St. Catharine's. A Richard Cutts was fellow commoner of St. Catharine's in 1669, and he is probably the brother of the poet. Moreover, the college records include the names of John and Richard Everard, fellow commoners respectively, in 1658 and 1659; and Hugh Everard, fellow in 1659.¹⁴

John's mother was an Everard (or Everade), and it is easy to believe that both Richard and John Cutts went to St. Catharine's through influence from the mother's side. Or it may be that the popularity and prosperity of St. Catharine's were sufficient to attract the boy. Among her famous graduates were the poets Shirley and Bancroft, and Archbishop Sandys, Bishop Hoadly, John Strype, Dr. John Lightfoot, and John Ray, the naturalist. "Among the smaller foundations St. Catharine's, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, had gained considerably both in numbers and reputation. In 1672 its members (including the servants of the college) amounted to one hundred and fifty."¹⁵

How long Cutts stayed at Cambridge we do not know. There is no record that he took his degree, tho the college book that records his entrance, records also the graduation of several others who entered at about the same time.¹⁶ It is easy to imagine that to an active, restless, and ambitious nature such as his, college life and duties would after a time grow irksome. In 1690, however, Cambridge gave him

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Report, Appendix, 424.

¹³ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 4th Report, Append., 424.

¹⁴ Browne, G. F., *History of St. Catharine College*, 254-255.

¹⁵ Mullinger, J. Bass, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, 172.

¹⁶ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, *ibid.*

the degree of LL. D., *comitiis regiis*.¹⁷ The poet's intimacy with King William may account for the grant of the degree. Cutts felt kindly toward St. Catharine's, for in 1695 he headed the list of contributors for the erection of new buildings.¹⁸ In the light of our later knowledge that he was apparently never free from heavy debt, we may feel some legitimate doubt as to whether he ever paid the subscription!

II

COURT AND EARLY MILITARY LIFE

Very little is known about John Cutts from 1676 to 1685. An anonymous annalist in 1708 wrote as follows: "John, Lord Cuts, was a Cambridge gentleman of pretty good fortune, which was unhappily squandered for the most part away in a short time; which, as I have been informed, put him under a kind of necessity of undertaking a military life, tho 'tis probable his genius might likewise very much incline him to it. And there being at that time no other war on foot in Europe but that which commenced between the late Emperor Leopold and Sultan Mahomet in 1683, Mr. Cuts went a volunteer among many other gentlemen into Hungary."¹⁹

We have this from another anonymous writer in 1707: "Upon his first coming up to London [after leaving Cambridge] his Wit, Fortune and Courage made his Company acceptable to Persons of the first Rank, but instead of being amuzed with the Gaieties of the Town, he endeavor'd to improve himself by the Conversations of such who were remarkable for their love to their Country, and were eminent Defenders of the English Liberties. My Lord's surprizing Conduct in so unexperienc'd an Age, occasioned him the Friendship of several Great Men; Collonel Sidney, my Lord Russel, and the then Earl of Leicester had a particular respect for his Merits, and seem'd to foresee that stock of Reputation he afterwards so honourably acquired. The misfortunes of the Times, and the divisions between the Court, and popular Party grew to such a height, that several Persons of Distinction suffer'd either for rash or objected Crimes: In the number of these were Collonel Sidney and my Lord Russel. . . . My Lord Cutts had a double dissatisfaction from their misfortune, he lamented them as Friends and Patriots in a publick and a private Capacity."²⁰

John Nichols wrote many years later: "He entered early into the service of the Duke of Monmouth."²¹

¹⁷*Cantabrigiensis Graduati*, 1659-1787, 107. John's brother Richard was granted in 1675 an A.M. *per literas regias*.

¹⁸*Histor. MSS. Comm.*, *ibid*.

¹⁹*The Compleat History of Europe for 1707*, 454.

²⁰*The Monthly Miscellany*, 1707, I. 47.

²¹Nichols, *op. cit.*, 1780, II, 327. *The Biographical Dictionary*, 784, IV, 263, has the same general statement.

Anthony Wood, in speaking of Cutts' services at Buda in 1686, remarked: "this Cutts, they say, was engaged in Monmouth's plot, but fled away upon his discomfeiture."²²

Another biographer wrote: "As he was a servant to the late Queen Mary, when Princess of Orange, and learnt the Trade of War under her consort, so he was early devoted to both their Majesties, of ever pious and glorious memory; and had a great share in, and ever warmly stickled for, a settlement of the late Happy Revolution."^{22a}

Finally, we have these words from Cutts himself: "I was actually (when I engaged first in your Majestys service) worth 2000 st. *p. annu.*; I owed then not in all above 15,000 st. . . . In the year that King Charles the second dyed, his Majesty (then Prince of Orange) ask'd a thing of me with great Impresment, by the hands of a great Man. . . . I had then in Lands of Inheritance (as several persons will make oath) 2000 st. *p. annum.* I ow'd (as persons will make oath) not above 15,000 st.; 2000 st. *p. annu.* in Cambridgeshire and Essex (where my Estate lay) was worth and could be sold for 40,000 st."^{22b}

This is all the definite evidence that we have for a period of about ten years. Let us examine it more closely and fit it together.

Leaving Cambridge, Cutts went up to London and became acquainted with some of the progressive political leaders—among them Lord Russell, a high-minded patriot, and Algernon Sidney, a thinker and an eloquent writer, both martyrs in 1683 for their republicanism; and Sidney's brother, the Earl of Leicester, a patron of letters. It may seem surprising that a young man of only twenty could so promptly make his way into the society of these men. But we ought not to forget that Cutts was a university man of good family, and that these liberals would be eager for a vigorous and well-born following.

The acquaintance with Russell, Sidney, and Leicester was important in its influence upon Cutts. It is altogether probable that their liberal political opinions shaped his thinking. And it is also likely that these men had something to do with developing and moulding his literary interests. This latter influence will be discussed more appropriately in the last division.

In some way, Cutts came to know the Duke of Monmouth and entered his service as a retainer. We have no certain knowledge as to how this acquaintance began, but several explanations are possible.

²²Wood, Anthony, *Life and Times*, III, 200.

^{22a}*The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals*; 5th Year, 498.

^{22b}Part of a letter from Cutts to King William, March 17, 1698, in *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, *ibid.*

The most likely opportunity came thru his intimacy with Sidney and Russell. Moreover, the Duke was Chancellor of Cambridge from 1674 to 1682.²³ He took some active part in university affairs,²⁴ and it is not impossible that their acquaintance began when Cutts was at St. Catharine's. The Duke was the type of man to appeal to him—dashing, luxurious, splendid, and extravagant. He sought eagerly for followers—witness his two progresses thru the West of England in 1680 and 1682²⁵—and secured them among all classes. It is not difficult to believe that this man would fascinate John Cutts.

We do not know whether it was in England or in Holland that Cutts served the Duke. He could have rendered important service in both countries. Dalrymple mentions a kind of activity in which Cutts might easily have had a share: "And a great number of gentlemen's sons, who had been in foreign services, went into England under pretence of being pedlars, and spread themselves through disaffected counties, to be ready when there was occasion for their services."²⁶ On the other hand, after 1679, the Duke spent a great deal of time on the Continent, especially in Holland. And after 1683 many adherents of the Duke found refuge at Prince William's Court. It is therefore possible, and indeed probable, that Cutts found opportunity to serve the Duke both at home and on the Continent.

By 1685, Cutts was in the service of Prince William of Orange. The Duke of Monmouth was also at the Hague at this time. Cutts' intimacy with Monmouth is evident from William's use of the Duke as an intermediary in a delicate mission. The mission is explained in the following extract from a letter written by Cutts to King William on March 17, 1698: "I considered . . . how earnestly you desired me (by the Duke of Monmouth) to break my match with Mrs. Villiers, and what a promise you made me upon it. . . . I considered what you have since done for her and for her Relations".²⁷

H. Manners Chichester²⁸ remarks that it is not clear from Cutts' hasty memorandum which of the ladies that scandal connects with William's name is meant. There is, to be sure, a possible mistake in identification, but it seems that the evidence points strongly in one direction. "Mrs. Villiers" is the name by which Elizabeth Villiers, the mistress of William of Orange, is generally known.²⁹ Elizabeth Villiers and her sister Anne had accompanied the Princess Mary to Holland

²³Mullinger, J. Bass, *ibid.*, 162.

²⁴Roberts, G., *Life of the Duke of Monmouth*, I, 38.

²⁵*Ibid.*, I, 89, 133.

²⁶Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, 87.

²⁷*Trans. Essex Arch Soc.*, *ibid.*

²⁸*Dictionary of National Biography*, XIII, 367 ff.

²⁹*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "Elizabeth Villiers," Index Vol.

after her marriage to William, and remained at court. Elizabeth particularly was a source of great tribulation to Mary; and scandal has connected her sister Anne's name as well with William's.³⁰ William would naturally make a vigorous effort to prevent the loss of his favorite mistress. Moreover, Cutts refers in his letter to William to "what you have since done for her and for her Relations". Now, one of the scandalous gifts made by William after the Revolution was the grant to Elizabeth Villiers (Lady Orkney) of about one hundred thousand acres of the finest land in Ireland, worth about twenty-six thousand pounds a year.³¹ It is, therefore, in all probability with Elizabeth Villiers that Cutts was obliged to break his engagement.

Sometime before 1685 John's brother, Richard Cutts, had died,³² and the estates at Arkesden and Childerley, worth two thousand pounds a year, had come into John Cutts' possession. He spent his money lavishly, or perhaps the estates were already heavily encumbered, for by 1685 he was in debt fifteen thousand pounds.

During the months at the Dutch court, Cutts, we are told, learned the trade of war under William. It has been suggested that he undertook a military life partly to reestablish his fortunes and partly in response to the inclination of his nature. The latter reason at least seems entirely probable. But a family influence may also be adduced: his maternal uncle, Sir Hugh Everard, only six years older than Cutts, had been bred to arms,³³ and John's interest in a military life may quite readily have been awakened by hearing from his uncle stories of a soldier's life.

In the meantime, in the early months of 1685, Charles II had died, and James II, a Roman Catholic, had come to the throne. The accession of James was a blow to all the Protestants, and particularly to the illegitimate son of Charles, the Duke of Monmouth, who had hoped that somehow he might succeed his father. In desperation, the Duke invaded England in June, 1685, but was defeated at Sedgemoor, captured, and executed. Cutts probably had a share in the rebellion, but upon the Duke's capture, he fled—in all probability to Holland.

Meanwhile, war had been raging in Eastern Europe. The Turks had long been a source of great trial, but by 1685 Duke Charles had won back all of Hungary except Buda. Volunteers were flocking to Charles from all parts of Europe to aid him in his defence of Christianity against the Mohammedan Turks.³⁴ According to Macaulay,

³⁰Strickland, Agnes, *Lives of the Queens of England*, VII, 49-50, 70.

³¹*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, LVIII, 326 ff.

³²He was still living in February, 1676. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1675-6, 578.

³³Morant, P., *History and Antiquities of Essex County*, II, 87.

³⁴*Cambridge Modern History*, V, 366.

William of Orange had urged Monmouth to volunteer in this new crusade instead of making an attempt upon England;³⁵ and it is quite possible that William had something to do with Cutts' enlistment in the army of Duke Charles of Lorraine. At any rate, "Mr. Cutts went a volunteer among many other gentlemen into Hungary".³⁶

Just why should Cutts have undertaken this military service? Financial necessity has already been suggested as a cause, and Cutts' own words, in his letter to William, give weight to the suggestion. Military service, with the participation in booty, royal bounties, and the favors shown to heroes, would be an attractive way of recouping a lost fortune. But even without financial pressure, it is easy to believe that the Hungarian-Turkish war was of such a nature as to attract him. The conflict had something of the appeal of the old Crusades; it was the defence of Christianity against Mohammedanism. The expedition offered just the appeal to which a vigorous youth of twenty-four would respond.

Recommended, perhaps, by the Prince of Orange, Cutts offered himself to the Duke of Lorraine. His services were accepted, and he was appointed the Duke's aid-de-camp.³⁷ For Cutts the culmination of the fighting was reached at the siege of Buda, which lasted for ten weeks. According to a private letter, most of the Spanish and English volunteers were slain before Buda, and by July 30, 1686, Cutts himself was wounded.³⁸ "Having distinguished his valor to a very eminent degree at the siege, he was some time after made Adjutant General to the Duke of Lorain, that being the first commission he ever held".³⁹ The promotion took place before November 25.^{39a} "His gallantry was also recognized at home many years later by Addison, who saw fit to refer in his *Pax Gulielmi*⁴¹ to Cutts' behavior at the siege. In a footnote he names Cutts (Lord Cutts when he wrote) as the soldier of whom he says: "He whose temples were but recently bound by the victorious palms of Buda and the foreign laurel, fearlessly fixes the standard. Rushing into the midst of the battle line, where a scattered storm of iron and the beating hail of lead rages all about him, he passes thru the sulphurous darkness, the noisome clouds of black fumes, and

³⁵ Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, I, 421.

³⁶ *Compleat Hist. of Europe for 1707*, *ibid.*

³⁷ Nichols, *ibid.*; *Biographical Dictionary*, *ibid.*

³⁸ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Report, Append., 187.

³⁹ *Compleat History of Europe for 1707*, *ibid.* See also a news letter in *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Report, Append., 187.

^{39a} Wood, Anthony, *Life and Times*, 200.

⁴¹ *Musae Anglicanae*, 1699, II, 2. Addison included in the volume poems by others than himself. The poem is included in any complete edition of Addison's works.

the fiery smoke red with repeated lightning flash"⁴² To deserve such praise from contemporaries, Cutts must have acquitted himself more than ordinarily well in this his first campaign.

How long after Cutts remained with the Duke of Lorraine is not known. A contemporary writes thus: "Mr. Cutts some time after this [the adjutant generalship] and possibly foreseeing something of a revolution like to fall out in his native country, left the imperial service and returned to the court of the Prince of Orange at The Hague".⁴³ "Some time after" is exceedingly indefinite, but may be taken to mean here about four months.^{43a} This conclusion harmonizes fairly well with the publication of his *Poetical Exercises* early in 1687, an event which likely required his presence in Holland or England.

During these months that Cutts was at the Hague, it is not unlikely that he made occasional trips to England, as the use of the word "continue" below suggests. And it is certain that he was growing in the favor of the Prince of Orange. "21 March, 1687-8. Mr. Cutts has gone to Holland to continue there and is made lieutenant-colonel of a regiment".⁴⁴ We learn elsewhere that the command given by the prince (William) was in one of the English regiments in the service of the States under the command of Colonel Sidney, earl of Romney.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, trouble was brewing in England for James II. After the birth of a son to James, events moved rapidly. On June 30, 1688, William was invited to take the English throne, on November 5, he landed at Tor Bay, and on February 13, 1689, William and Mary were declared King and Queen of England. "In 1688 (Cutts) came over Lieutenant Colonel in one of them [the English regiments] with his Highness to vindicate the Religion and Liberties of England from

⁴² The extract follows (II. 27-32):

"Vexillum intrepidus a fixit, cui tempora dudum
Budenses palmae, peregrinaque laurus obumbrat.
Ille ruens aciem in mediam, qua ferrea grando
Sparsa furit circum, et plumbi densissimus imber
Sulphuream noctem, tetras bitumine nubes
Ingreditur, crebroque rubentem fulgure fumum.

a Honoratissimus D. Dominus Cutts, Baro de Gowran, etc."

⁴³ *Compleat History of Europe for 1707, ibid.*

^{43a} The author has used the same phrase in an earlier sentence concerning the command given to Cutts by Duke Charles: "he was some time after [distinguishing himself at the siege of Buda] made Adjutant General" (see above p. xvi). Assuming that he distinguished himself at the time of his wound, before July 30 (*Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Report, Append., 181), and knowing that he was made adjutant general before November 25 (Wood, A., *Life and Times*, 200), we calculate that "some time after" means in this instance about four months. On this calculation then, Cutts left the imperial service about February or March, 1687.

⁴⁴ Luttrell, Narcissus, *Relation of State Affairs*, I, under the date given.

⁴⁵ *The Monthly Miscellany*, I, 48.

Popery and arbitrary Power. Mr. Cutts, upon that Prince's assuming the crown of England, began to make a considerable figure [and] became soon Colonel".⁴⁶

William's coming to England was financially profitable, as well, to Colonel Cutts. On February 5, 1690, Cutts presented a petition asking for an inquiry into certain lands in Bedford, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, which were liable to forfeiture to the Crown, under an act to prevent the growth of popery. Within less than two months, his vigilance was rewarded, for lands and estates belonging to Jesuits in several counties were granted him.⁴⁷ The value of the lands is not known.

In 1685 and 1687 respectively Cutts published in London *La Muse de Cavalier* and *Poetical Exercises*. I shall discuss in the last section the contents of these two volumes and the questions raised by them.

III

SERVICE IN IRELAND, BARONY, AND MARRIAGE

King James had resolved to contest the new sovereigns' right to the throne of England. To this end he landed in Ireland in March, 1689, soon after William and Mary had been proclaimed King and Queen. If they were to remain safe on the throne, the rebellion in Ireland must be put down. Much delay occurred in 1689, and it was not until June, 1690, that William himself arrived and advanced upon Dublin with thirty-five thousand soldiers.⁴⁸ Colonel Cutts, who had reached Ireland by April 19, 1690,^{48a} commanded a regiment in this army.

The battle of the Boyne—so-called from the river that flows near Dublin—followed on July 1, 1690. According to Macaulay, Colonel Cutts commanded the fifth regiment of the line at this battle. "The regiment was led by an officer who had no skill in the higher branches of military science, but whom the whole army allowed to be the bravest of all the brave, John Cutts."⁴⁹ At a particular point

⁴⁶ *The Compleat History of Europe, ibid.* In *Calendar State Papers, Domestic*, 1689, p. 161, he is on June 22, 1689, referred to as Colonel John Cutts. *The Biog. Dict., ibid.*, has this: "Returning to England at the Revolution, he had a regiment of foot." It is possible to interpret this statement to mean that Cutts was colonel of a regiment at the time he returned from Holland; but it is also possible, and better, to interpret it in harmony with the other authority.

⁴⁷ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 24.

⁴⁸ Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 453.

^{48a} Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 34.

⁴⁹ Macaulay, *History of England*, III, 495. Chichester, *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, XIII, 367 ff., maintains that Macaulay is wrong, for there is no evidence that Cutts was in the Fifth Fusiliers. However, Walton, Clifford, *History of the British Standing Army from 1660-1700*, 107 and note, agrees with Macaulay.

in the battle, a regiment of English foot performed "a seasonable instance of British valor" in helping William out of a perplexing situation; this, according to Colonel Walton, must have been Cutts' regiment.⁵⁰

On August 27, 1690, after a number of days of skirmishing in which Cutts had a part, an attack was made on Limerick. Colonel Cutts, at the head of the grenadiers, was ordered to mount a breach in the wall, but perhaps because orders were not exactly obeyed, the attack failed.⁵¹ During the course of the fighting Cutts had been wounded, but how seriously is not reported.⁵²

It is July, 1691, before we hear of another battle in which Colonel Cutts had a part, tho there is no reason to believe that he did not have a share in at least some of the fighting before this date. A hard-fought battle took place at Aughrim on July 1, and Colonel Cutts was again wounded.⁵³

The enemy made another stand—and their last—at Limerick in 1691; but they were finally compelled to surrender. The city surrendered on October 3, 1691, to Colonel Cutts—now Lord Cutts, as we shall see—, who marched in at the head of seven regiments of foot.⁵⁴

Within a short time, Colonel Cutts had likely returned to England with his regiment, for we hear of a quarrel at Cambridge between soldiers of his regiment and some scholars about drinking the King's health.⁵⁵

In the wars in Ireland Colonel Cutts "had signalized himself very much," and had "received some dangerous wounds".⁵⁶ Cutts, Marlborough, Douglass, and Cunningham "had been eminently instrumental in the reduction of the kingdom".⁵⁷ Some citizens of London had shown their appreciation by giving General Ginkle, Colonel Cutts, and other officers "a treat" that cost five hundred pounds!^{57a} That Cutts' name should be mentioned second on the list is significant. To William, Cutts had proved himself a valuable officer. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that before the war was over—on December 4, 1690—, there was issued a warrant for a grant to create John Cutts a "baron of Ireland by the title of Baron Cutts of Gowran, with

⁵⁰ Walton, *op. cit.*, 116.

⁵¹ Parker, Robert, *Memoirs*, 27.

⁵² Davies, R., *Journal*, 144.

⁵³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1691, 485.

⁵⁴ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 293.

⁵⁵ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 330.

⁵⁶ *Compleat History of Europe*, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Salmon, T., *Chronological Historian*, 45.

^{57a} Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 363.

limitation to the heirs male of his body".⁵⁸ Luttrell adds that King William made the grant "in consideration of his [Cutts'] faithful services to him".⁵⁹

It was fitting that the kingdom in which he had seen important military service should be the seat of his barony. And to Lord Cutts the grant was no doubt gratifying; but, as we have seen, he had heavy debts and needed money; yet the forfeited estates in Ireland were withheld from him and many other deserving Englishmen who had helped to make William's throne secure, and given instead to the Dutch, and Lord Galway, a French refugee, and Mrs. Villiers, the King's mistress.⁶⁰

But a still more important event had occurred shortly after the grant of the barony. One writer suggests, indeed, that it was in honor of this event that Cutts was made a baron.⁶¹ On December 18, 1690, Lord Cutts was married to Elizabeth Trevor.⁶² Rumors of the engagement had been abroad for almost a year.

"February 25, 1689-90. Several marriages are talked of, as that the widow Trevor and Mr. Cutts is concluded, but he is to go into Ireland, and she doth not care to marry him till he comes back, and he would gladly be sure first".

"April 29, 1690. Mr. Cutts is sure of the widow Trevor, but she will not have him till he returns out of Ireland".⁶³ Nevertheless she did "have him" before he returned out of Ireland permanently, for after the marriage there was still before him the campaign of 1691.

Mrs. Trevor was the daughter and heir of George Clark, a London merchant. In 1671, at sixteen, she married William Morley, of Glynd, Sussex. Eight years later she married John Trevor, a bachelor three years her senior, secretary of state to Charles II. In the license granted to her and Lord Cutts, it is stated that he was a bachelor about twenty-nine years old, and she a widow about thirty; but on the basis of the figures quoted above, she was at least thirty-five.⁶⁴

It is not surprising that Cutts "would gladly be sure first", for Mrs. Trevor was "a widdow of a great fortune".⁶⁵ Tho this was her

⁵⁸ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1690, 180.

⁵⁹ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 139.

⁶⁰ Salmon, T., *Chronological Historian*, 1722, 235.

⁶¹ *Compleat History of Europe*, *ibid.*

⁶² Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 145.

⁶³ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 14th Report, Append., Pt. II, 444, 447.

⁶⁴ See *London Marriage Licenses, 1521-1869*, pp. 370, 1358; and *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 145.

third venture (she professed to be only thirty!), she had apparently not forgotten how to be coy. And if Lord Cutts found any drawback in the fact that Mrs. Trevor had already been twice married, he probably found consolation in her jointure of twenty-five hundred pounds a year⁶⁶—a considerable item to a man as deeply in debt as he was.

IV

SERVICE AGAINST FRANCE UNDER WILLIAM AND MARLBOROUGH

Lord Cutts was soon to see active service again. England had declared war against France on May 13, 1689, but so stubborn had been the Irish resistance that two years had passed before William was able to give undivided attention to the French. On March 3, 1692, a post-warrant was issued for Lord Cutts and his servant to go to Harwich;⁶⁷ and on March 19, his regiment marched for Kingston to embark for Flanders—among the first to be sent.⁶⁸

The earliest fighting raged around Namur; but despite William's desperate efforts to protect it, the city fell on May 26, 1692 (O. S.). Later, on June 23, in one of the skirmishes that must have occurred frequently, Lord Cutts was wounded at Enghien⁶⁹—apparently not very seriously, for he was with his regiment in the battle of Steinkirk fought on August 3. Lord Cutts' regiment was one of the six that made the attack; it with two others was "terribly punished".⁷⁰ Lord Cutts himself was wounded,⁷¹ rather severely this time, for two months later he was still lame and on crutches, and allowed to return to England on furlough for seven or eight weeks.⁷² Early in the next year—March 22, 1693,—he was promoted to be brigadier general of foot.⁷³

Other events to be discussed later took much of Lord Cutts' interest during the year 1693, and his name has only occasional mention in military affairs. On June 24 the Queen discussed a certain obscure "descent"—perhaps the attack on Brest that actually occurred a year

⁶⁶ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, III, 41.

⁶⁷ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1692, 168.

⁶⁸ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 293.

⁶⁹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1692, 392.

⁷⁰ Fortescue, J. W., *History of the British Army*, I, 367. Corporal Trim, in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, says that Cutts' regiment was "cut to pieces."

⁷¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1692, 429.

⁷² Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 587; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1692, 519.

⁷³ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1693, 78.

later—with Lord Cutts, the Duke of Leinster, and other field officers; and in November “he was assigned to review certain regiments in Hampshire”.⁷⁴ Most of the year seems to have been spent in England.

It was in the middle of June, 1694, that Lord Cutts took part in an unfortunate attack upon France—the Brest Expedition. The plan of the expedition was simple: General Talmash and his troops were to be taken to Brest in Brittany. The harbor fortifications were to be attacked and the city captured.⁷⁵ Lord Cutts was present at a council of war on board the *Britannia* on May 31, and accompanied the expedition. He took a prominent part in the conference held on June 6, and his advice was favorably received. On the next day he was a member of a reconnoitering expedition; it was fired upon but returned safely. Tho the fortifications were found to be much stronger than had been suspected, the original plans were adhered to.

On the morning of June 8 the attack began. Lord Cutts was to land first with a few men to discover the enemy and Talmash was to follow.⁷⁶ But for some reason the agreement was broken, the larger body of troops landed first. Talmash was mortally wounded, and in the retreat that followed, many soldiers were killed or drowned. Lord Cutts himself narrowly escaped, for he had just left a long boat before it sank with all on board.⁷⁷

Some one had blundered or taken matters into his own hands. Mrs. Talmash said that the general had complained of “the Lords” for not obeying orders, and sent a message about it to the Queen a little before his death.⁷⁸ A contemporary agrees with Talmash in part: “Lord Macclesfield acted as prudently in beating a retreat as my Lord Cutts did undutifully in not going on”.⁷⁹ Finally, a cautious statement of another contemporary worth quoting: “’Tis easy to impute rashness to the dead [Talmash], to excuse cowardice in the living”.⁸⁰

But there is another side. The Marquess of Caermarthen wrote that great confusion prevailed during the landing, without any regard to the order for conducting the disembarkation; and that Lord Cutts

⁷⁴ Luttrell, *op. cit.* III, 124, 223.

⁷⁵ See for an account of the expedition, Osborne, Peregrine, Marquess of Caermarthen, *A Journal of the Brest Expedition*, 1694; Mackinnon, Colonel, *The Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards*, I, 243.

⁷⁶ Newdigate—Newdegate, Lady, *Cavalier and Puritan*, 286, quotes a letter from a John Scott, who had information direct from Cutts.

⁷⁷ According to one report, he was wounded; *Hist. MSS. Comm.*; 7th Report, Append., 535.

⁷⁸ *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 14th Report, Append., Pt. 2, 551.

⁷⁹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1694, 184.

⁸⁰ Sir Richard Newdegate, in Newdigate—Newdegate, Lady, *Cavalier and Puritan*, *ibid.*

and all the officers of the land forces "have shown all the forwardness and readiness imaginable for attempting anything that was possible to be done on this occasion".⁸¹ Moreover, "it's certain", said another contemporary, "if they had prosecuted the regular landing which Lord Cutts proposed, they in all probability [would] have succeeded".⁸² The charges of "undutifully not going on" and of "cowardice" mentioned by two of the writers may be received with a good deal of scepticism, for Lord Cutts bore a reputation rather for courage, even rashness, than for cowardice. Finally, it would not seem as if the military authorities held Lord Cutts culpable, for four months later, on October 11, 1694, he was given Talmash's command, the colonelcy of the second regiment of footguards, better known as the Coldstream Guards.⁸³

After Brest, there followed his return to the Isle of Wight, and a melancholy review on June 22 of the forces that fought at Brest, participation in Lord Berkeley's first attempt at a raid in France, and a brief visit to London.⁸⁴ Cutts later joined the fleet at Dieppe, and probably saw the inglorious raid upon the helpless and unprotected cities of Dieppe, Havre, and Calais in July.⁸⁵

By August 30 Lord Cutts was with William on the Continent. In a letter to a friend he said that the King had received him kindly and that he was likely to succeed in his pretensions⁸⁶—perhaps a reference to the colonelcy of the Coldstreams which he actually did receive a month later. But he was back in England by the middle of November,⁸⁷ and within the next four months was assigned the duty of preparing and dispatching troops to Jamaica and Spain—the latter destination no very desirable place of service, it would appear, for some of the troops mutinied and refused to go aboard the ships.⁸⁸

Meanwhile, King William was preparing for his spring campaign. On April 18, 1695, the King ordered Cutts to report in

⁸¹ Osborne, Peregrine, Marquess of Caermarthen, *ibid.*

⁸² *The Compleat History of Europe for 1707, ibid.*

⁸³ Luttrell, *ibid.*, III, 382.

⁸⁴ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1694, 196; Luttrell, *ibid.*, III, 338.

⁸⁵ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1694, 219.

⁸⁶ *The Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1885-86*, II, 176.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁸⁸ Luttrell, *ibid.*, III, 413, 452.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 462.

Flanders as lieutenant general of foot.⁸⁹ Preparations began immediately, but various delays interposed, and it was probably June 20 before he arrived.^{90, 91}

The main object of attack was Namur, surrendered to the French three years before. The siege was begun in the latter part of June, 1695, and on July 8 (O. S.) the fortifications were attacked. Lord Cutts at the head of five battalions of footguards, began the onset on the right.⁹² "Conspicuous in bravery even among those brave English was Cutts. In that bulldog courage which flinches from no danger, however terrible, he was unrivalled. There was no difficulty in finding hardy volunteers . . . to go on a forlorn hope; but Cutts was the only man who appeared to consider such an expedition as a party of pleasure. He was so much at his ease in the hottest fire of the French batteries that his soldiers gave him the honorable nickname of the Salamander."^{93, 94}

From this date until the French surrendered, Cutts' name is mentioned repeatedly in the accounts of the siege. He was appointed brigadier of the Coldstream Guards, an honor no brigadier had enjoyed before.⁹⁵ On July 18 and 22 and on August 8 and 10 Lord Cutts had part in important attacks.⁹⁶

On the afternoon of August 20, Cutts at the head of three hundred grenadiers led the way to the position to which he had been assigned. This would not have been, ordinarily, Cutts' command for the day, but he especially desired it and it was assigned to him. According to his custom he led the attack personally. Many were killed or wounded, and Cutts fell with a wound in his head. His men rushed on, but discouraged and overwhelmed by numbers, before long they fell back. In the meantime having had the wound dressed, Cutts put himself again at the head of his men and led them to a successful relief

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 476, 478, 481. *Manners, Dict. Nat. Biog.*, III, 467 ff., says that Cutts was one of the commissioners for settling the bank at Antwerp, but (unless he has authorities that he does not mention) this conclusion is a misinterpretation of Luttrell III, 481: "——— Rivers, Lord Cutts, and the commissioners going to settle the bank at Antwerp lie wind bound at Harwich."

⁹¹ The following extract from a letter written to a friend throws light both on Cutts' intimacy with the King and on his own character: "The Lords of the Admiralty have been so kind as to order me one of the King's best yachts; the cabin I am now sitting in is finer and richly furnished than any room in the Isle of Wight. Dear Dudley, God prosper us, and our Master." *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1885-6, II, 182.

⁹² Rapin, *History of England*, Tindal's continuation, I, 190.

⁹³ Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, IV, 470-1.

⁹⁴ Cutts appreciated bravery in others, too, for he tried to secure a pardon for a murderer who had received fourteen wounds at Namur. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, Feb. 17, 1696.

⁹⁵ Mackinnon, *Coldstream Guards*, I, 249.

⁹⁶ Tindal, *op. cit.*, I, 190, 192; Mackinnon, *op. cit.*, I, 250.

of the Bavarian troops, by that time sorely pressed. Within forty-eight hours the French surrendered, and Namur was once more in English hands.⁹⁷

This was the last event of military importance for the year. By January, 1696, Lord Cutts had returned to London, and on the fifteenth of the month was examined in the House of Commons concerning election expenses and the purchase of seats in Parliament. His testimony seems, however, unimportant.⁹⁸

Lord Cutts did not return to Flanders before spring; and during these months in England he acted as Captain of the King's Guards.⁹⁹ In this capacity he had an interesting part in uncovering the Assassination Plot. It will be remembered that the plans of a number of Roman Catholics who had plotted to assassinate William on his way to a hunt, were revealed by Pendergrass, one of the original party. Lord Cutts, who was present at the interview between William and Pendergrass, urged Pendergrass to "own himself and the service he had already done".¹⁰⁰ Cutts later testified at the trial of the conspirators.¹⁰¹ He soon after showed his continued diligence in serving William by seizing at an inn in Smithfield some persons "with a muster roll of English and others engaged in the pay here to continue in this conspiracy".¹⁰² His faithfulness was rewarded on April 28, 1696, by the gift from the King of the confiscated estate of Mr. Carryl, of Sussex, late secretary to Mary of Modena, wife of James II. The estate was worth nearly two thousands pounds a year—no inconsiderable item to a spendthrift and a debt-pressed man.^{103, 104}

⁹⁷ Tindal, *op. cit.*, I, 192 ff.; Macaulay, *op. cit.*, IV., 475; Walton, Clifford, *op. cit.*, 309.

⁹⁸ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 5; Macaulay, *op. cit.*, IV, 549.

⁹⁹ Burnet, Gilbert, *History of His Own Times*, IV, 305.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 305.

¹⁰¹ *The Trials and Condemnation of Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keyes*, Dublin, 1696.

¹⁰² *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Report, Append., 385; Carleton, *Memoirs*.

¹⁰³ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV., 51, 62. Tho abroad, Carryl had been permitted to enjoy the income from his English estate. But when the King learned that Carryl had actually contributed eight hundred pounds toward the success of the Assassination Plot, the estate in Sussex was confiscated.

¹⁰⁴ An echo of the Assassination Plot is found in Lord Cutts' successful attempt to secure a pardon for Captain Thomas Vaughan, who had been condemned to death for participation in the plot. This, by the way, is not the first time that Lord Cutts generously interested himself in condemned criminals. I have already referred (p. xxiv) to his plea in February, 1696, in behalf of a condemned murderer who had received fourteen wounds at Namur. And again in May, 1696, he asked that a certain Charles Stanley shall not be pilloried, for such punishment will disqualify him from entering the army—a thing he desires to do (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1696, May 12). Curiously enough, these three instances of Cutts' interest in condemned criminals are all in 1696.

Previous to the opening of the spring campaign in 1696, on May 31, to be exact, Lord Cutts was promoted to a major-generalship.¹⁰⁵ By the middle of June, he was planning to go to Flanders, but for some reason the journey was postponed until July 2.¹⁰⁶ The campaign was uneventful, and by September 17 Cutts' regiment, the Coldstream Guards, was ordered into winter quarters at Ghent.¹⁰⁷ By October 5 Lord Cutts had returned to England,¹⁰⁸ but soon after made a flying trip to the Continent and was back in England by October 17 prepared to make a report to William.

Little is known of Lord Cutts' activities the first six months of 1697.¹⁰⁹ In January a large part of Whitehall Palace was destroyed by fire. Cutts was present, in charge of the troops, and did important service in preventing greater loss than there was.^{109a} Reported to be sailing for Holland on May 1 and 20, it was June 5 before he actually left.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, commissioners were discussing terms of peace. Delay after delay occurred. Possibly Lord Cutts had some share in the negotiations in July or August;¹¹¹ and it is reasonable to assume that the secret negotiation upon which he went to Vienna in the last days of August or the first of September was an attempt to press the Emperor to agree to peace.¹¹² The mission performed, he had returned to England by September 30.^{113, 114}

During the next year or two, Lord Cutts met severe financial reverses, which we shall discuss in the next section. He probably had few if any important military duties the years of peace that followed; but peace was to be shortlived. War with France over the Spanish succession was in project. Possibly the addition of recruits to Cutts' regiment of footguards in 1699 and his review of the militia in several

¹⁰⁵ Mackinnon, *op. cit.*, I, 263. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 53, reports a rumor of it early in the month.

¹⁰⁶ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 63, 69.

¹⁰⁷ Mackinnon, *op. cit.*, I, 266.

¹⁰⁸ On October 5, 1696, he wrote a letter from Kensington to Steele, directing payment of a bill. Aitken, George, *Life of Steele*, I, 43 ff. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 125, 127, refers to Cutts' arrival from Flanders on October 17.

¹⁰⁹ Other than military affairs will be referred to in the next chapter.

^{109a} Macaulay, *Hist. of Eng.*, IV, 380; Sheppard, E., *The Old Royal Palace of Whitehall*, 386.

¹¹⁰ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 219, 227, 235.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 260, notes that "peace is as good as concluded"; and as a part of the sentence, "Cutts is expected to return soon." Cutts may be returning because military duties are over, or because the peace negotiations will soon be concluded.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, IV, 272.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, IV, 285.

¹¹⁴ A regiment, known as Cutts' regiment, was disbanded by act of Parliament after the conclusion of peace. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 487. Cutts had been for three years, however, colonel of the Coldstream Guards.

counties were measures preparatory to the conflict.¹¹⁵ Even after the death of the Spanish King, actual conflict was deferred, and it was July 26, 1701, before Lord Cutts went to Holland to serve as major general under the Duke of Marlborough.¹¹⁶

The summer and fall were spent in various diplomatic maneuvers, and late in November Marlborough returned to England to give aid to the Tories. In his absence he left the command of the English army in Holland for the winter to Major General Cutts, with full powers.¹¹⁷ In March, however, he was relieved, and by March 31 was back in England, but for less than a month.¹¹⁸

The campaign of 1702 was hindered by Dutch stupidity, and it was late in the summer before anything of great importance was accomplished. In August, 1702, Venlo surrendered. In the capture of Fort St. Michael, one of the protections of Venlo, Major General Cutts had played a conspicuous part. Cutts held a council of the officers of the attacking force and outlined his plan—to drive away the enemy from the covert way and so prevent them from dislodging the English workmen. If the enemy should yield readily, the English troops were to jump into the covert way and pursue the enemy at any cost. The plan succeeded; and the enemy were finally compelled to surrender.¹¹⁹

Cutts' bravery was generally commended. Marlborough reported: "My Lord Cutts commanded at one of the breaches; and the English grenadiers had the honor of being the first to enter the fort."¹²⁰ Echoing public opinion probably, Burnet said that the fort "was taken by Lord Cutts in so gallant a manner that it deserved to be commended by everybody".¹²¹ Henry Guy wrote to Robert Harley: "The fort of Venlo is taken and that by a very brave action of my Lord Cutts".¹²² And a contemporary historian commented as follows: "The most memorable act during the siege [of Venlo] was performed by Lord Cutts".¹²³ And Lord Cutts himself wrote none to modestly to Secretary Nottingham as follows: "My action at Fort St. Michael I will say no more of than only it was my own contrivance and execution, commanding that attack in chief. It was successful, and produced good and quick effects by occasioning the speedy surrender of Venlo,

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 648, 674.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 74. It had first been reported that he was to go as lieutenant general (*ibid.*, V, 65). The commission is dated March 9, 1702, *State Papers Dom.*, Entry Book 170, 111.

¹¹⁷ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 15th Report, Append., Pt. 1, 51.

¹¹⁸ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, V, 158, 167.

¹¹⁹ Parker, Captain Robert, *Memoirs*, 1747, 86.

¹²⁰ Marlborough, *Dispatches*, September 21, 1702.

¹²¹ Burnet, *op. cit.*, V, 31.

¹²² *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 15th Report, Append., Pt. 1, 487.

¹²³ *History of the Reign of Queen Anne Digested into Annals*, 1st Year, 102.

and making way farther successes; and it met with general approbation, for the world has made more noise of it than it deserves. I had the honor to command brave men; I had the fortune to take my measure right; and God blessed me with success".¹²⁴

Tho Cutts acted bravely, he was also accused of issuing rash and even incredible orders. Said Captain Parker: "All thought them very rash orders and contrary to the rules of war and the design of the thing. . . . Thus were the unaccountable orders of Cutts as unaccountably executed, to the great surprise of the whole army and even of ourselves. However, had not several unforeseen accidents concurred, not a man of us could have escaped".¹²⁵ Indeed, Parker even went so far as to say, in the same place, that Cutts had the glory of the whole action "though he never stirred out of the trenches till all was over". But Parker runs counter in these statements to the implication of our former testimony and to the definite statement of Luttrell that the English forces had taken the citadel of Venlo, with Lord Cutts, sword in hand, at their head.¹²⁶ It is possible that Parker's statement is prompted by jealousy.

The campaign of 1702 ended, Marlborough returned to England, and Lord Cutts was again left in command of the English forces in Holland.¹²⁷ As further evidence of the confidence reposed in him, and probably in recognition of his valor at Venlo, he was on February 11, 1703, made a lieutenant general.^{127a}

The campaign of 1703 was again fruitless, owing to the persistent Dutch interference with Marlborough's plans. As no great battles were fought or sieges undertaken, there was no opportunity for the spectacularly heroic service for which Lord Cutts was noted. Marlborough again went to England for the winter, and Cutts again stayed on the Continent,¹²⁸ but this time General Churchill, Marlborough's brother, was left in command of the troops.¹²⁹ Tho no reason is assigned for the change. Marlborough's natural desire to advance his brother is very plausible. A furlough, the exact length of which is

¹²⁴ British Museum Additional MSS. 29588; quoted in Burton, J. H., *The Reign of Queen Anne*, and *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1885-6, II, 193; rotograph copy also in the University of Pennsylvania library.

¹²⁵ Parker, *ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 215.

¹²⁷ Luttrell, *op cit.*, V, 239.

^{127a} *State Papers Dom.*, Entry Book 170, p. 128.

¹²⁸ *Histor MSS. Comm.*, 15th Report, Pt. 4, 146.

¹²⁹ Coxe, *Life of Marlborough*, I, 142.

not known, was marked on May 2 by a gift from Queen Anne of one thousand guineas.¹³⁰ Soon after probably, Lord Cutts returned to his command.¹³¹

The outstanding engagement in 1704 was, of course, the battle of Blenheim on August 2. Lord Cutts commanded on the left the division of the British which advanced early in the battle against the village of Blenheim. Repulsed here, toward the end of the battle he attacked the village from in front—a move that was successful.¹³² A large part of the French army was destroyed, and the rest compelled to retreat. Lord Cutts “had a large share in the success and glory of the day”.¹³³

On the return march, Marlborough was delayed by the siege of a stubborn town, and Lord Cutts was sent forward to capture Trier (Treves) for winter quarters for the army.¹³⁴ This accomplished by October 18 (N. S.), he returned to England, after “three winters successively in these parts”.¹³⁵

Blenheim was destined to be Lord Cutts’ last great fight. On March 23, 1705, the Queen appointed him commander-in-chief of the royal forces in Ireland, with a salary of six thousand pounds a year.¹³⁶ This seems like a promotion, but only when we forget the man involved. Lord Cutts was preëminently a fighting soldier, not a barracks soldier; and his removal from the scene of battle would, as one biographer suggested, “break his heart”.¹³⁷

Why then was he placed out of the way of action? Less than a year before the Queen had shown her favor by giving him a thousand guineas (see above). Moreover, Lord Cutts was reported to be a favorite of Marlborough’s.¹³⁸ Cutts, too, was a Whig, and the Whigs were in the first half of Anne’s reign growing in power. But Cutts had in 1701 professed “great affection and honor” for Harley, the Tory leader; and in 1704 he thanked Harley for promising to be his friend.¹³⁹ Perhaps this friendship with a Tory was obnoxious

¹³⁰ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, 420. In letters to Secretary Nottingham in 1702 (British Museum Add. MSS. 29588 and 15895) Cutts had expressed the hope that he would not be forgotten when rewards were distributed for services at Venlo. Perhaps the gift is delayed recognition.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, V, 419.

¹³² Alison, A., *Life of Marlborough*, 88, 97. Coxe, *ibid.*, I, 191 ff.

¹³³ *The Compleat History of Europe for 1707*, *ibid.*

¹³⁴ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, V, 476.

¹³⁵ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 15th Report, Append., Pt. I, 146.

¹³⁶ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, V, 536; *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 7th Report, Append., 246; Nichols, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

¹³⁷ Nichols, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

¹³⁸ Walpole, Horace, *Letters*, III, 260, 265, 285.

¹³⁹ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 15th Report, Pt. 4, 23; Pt. 1, 47.

to some of Cutts' Whig friends. Possibly, on the other hand, he had alienated some of his Tory friends by active and vigorous opposition in October, 1704, to "tacking" the Occasional Conformity Act to the land tax bill on the ground that stoppage of supplies consequent upon the failure of the bill would break up the Grand Alliance.¹⁴⁰ He had thus perhaps displeased both parties and had made for himself enemies in each. Moreover, at heart a Whig as Queen Anne was at heart a staunch Tory, probably he was never altogether in her favor. It is possible too that there is something in Morant's suggestion that he was sent to Ireland because he had not been "obsequious to the Duke of Marlborough".^{140a} The blow was perhaps not unexpected by Cutts, for in his letters to Secretary Nottingham he seemed feverish in his anxiety to make the best impression upon the Queen.^{140b} At any rate, whatever the reasons actually were, Godolphin wrote to the Duke of Ormonde, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, to the effect that the Queen needed Lieutenant General Erle in England, and that Lord Cutts would be sent in his stead.¹⁴¹

V

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, SECOND MARRIAGE, AND
REVERSES

By 1693, Lord Cutts had gained some reputation as a poet; he had won a name as a valiant soldier; in the same year he set about to seek political office. After various rumors that he would be made governor of Portsmouth, he was in April, 1693, appointed "captain and governor of the Isle of Wight in place of Sir Robert Holmes, Knt., deceased".¹⁴² He was to have five hundred pounds a year for his table;¹⁴³ the salary or income from rents is not stated, but if it was equally generous, he was a well-paid official. Sir William Stephens was appointed his deputy governor.¹⁴³

It is not difficult to believe that Cutts' training as a soldier would lead him to take charge of affairs even to the point of officiousness. And as a matter of fact, within a few weeks he had removed an officer from the government of Cowes and given the position to an officer in his own regiment—possibly trumping up some flimsy charge as an

¹⁴⁰ Leadom, *Political History of England*, 66.

^{140a} Morant, Philip, *The History and Antiquities of Essex County*, 1768, II, 590.

^{140b} Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 29588, 15895.

¹⁴¹ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 7th Report, Pt. 1, 779.

¹⁴² *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1693, 102.

¹⁴³ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, III, 73. In 1780, about a century later, the income from rents, etc., was 670 pounds. Worsley, Sir R., *History of the Isle of Wight*, 1781, lxviii.

excuse.¹⁴⁴ Before the year was out, he had become "extremely unpopular", and the citizens of the island were up in arms against him.¹⁴⁵ In a petition to Parliament they accused him of trying to control elections and of punishing those that opposed his interests by quartering soldiers upon them, putting officers out of the militia, disfranchising several burgesses of Newtown, and even in one case imprisoning a clergyman for two months.¹⁴⁶

Such high-handed procedure was bound to breed enemies, and he acknowledged that he had them among the citizens of Wight.¹⁴⁷ At one time they apparently tried to get rid of him by having him appointed one of the lord justices of Ireland. Sir Robert Worsley seemed to be a leading opponent,¹⁴⁸ and Cutts was shrewd enough to try to win his favor in 1695 by urging Worsley's election as chief burgess of Newtown. Some kind of legal proceedings were under way in 1696. The quarrels dragged on until 1697; early in that year a treaty of peace was signed at Westminster, whereby a sincere and lasting peace was to be established. Each side seemed to concede something.¹⁴⁹

But Lord Cutts was a soldier and relished a fight either on the field of battle or of politics; for not five months later he wrote humorously to a friend at the time that the war on the Continent was closing: "if God blesses me with life, I shall certainly make my next Campagne in the Isle of Wight". That he did is proved by a quarrel brought about by Cutts' swearing in one man—likely one well-disposed to Cutts—as mayor of Newport when the burgesses had wanted another! The affair reached the law courts, and a special verdict was rendered on May 7, 1700.¹⁵⁰

The letters of Cutts to Dudley reveal Cutts as a shrewd politician. Even tho away from Wight much of the time, he seems to have attempted to keep his hands on everything. He directs his lieutenant governor to send a certain Hope "a Cordial" and "kind, endearing, respectful words"; to "make much of all their friends", and "to speak kindly and heartily to them"; and to give fifty pounds to the poor of

¹⁴⁴ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, III, 99.

¹⁴⁵ Worsley, *op. cit.*, 141.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 141, 161.

¹⁴⁷ This information and many other items concerning his governorship of Wight come from a collection of letters written by Cutts to Dudley, his lieutenant governor, to be found in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1885-6, II, 171-199, edited by Robert C. Winthrop, jr. Hereafter any statement in this section not otherwise accredited is to be referred to these letters.

¹⁴⁸ Worsley, *op. cit.*, cxvii.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, cxvii-iii.

¹⁵⁰ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 462.

Newport. On the King's birthday he provided wine and other liquors for the mob to drink.¹⁵¹ There was to be kept a black list of those who failed to sign a certain document. In 1695, he slated five persons for Parliament from boroughs of Wight, only one of whom, however—himself—was elected.¹⁵²

Within a year after his appointment, Sir William Stephens was replaced as lieutenant governor by Joseph Dudley.¹⁵³ Lord Cutts found Dudley a useful deputy. Repeatedly he gave Dudley detailed directions as to what was to be done in political and private affairs: who was to be elected burgess; how to meet certain persons; to "let the corporation have venison as is usual"; to pay his brewer; to put off his creditors; to bottle his wine; to get prawns for a dinner for Roman Catholics. More than once Cutts sharply reproved Dudley for what he considered unwarranted conduct and reminded him of his obligations to his superior, and his duties to the office.

In June, 1693, occurred an event which prompted Cutts to seek the vice-admiralty of Wight. Some French Protestants brought a vessel to a port in Wight after they had killed the captain.¹⁵⁴ The vessel represented a good sum of money and Cutts naturally claimed possession. His claim and his appeal were denied on the ground that the vessel was a "perquisite of the Lord High Admiral". Since it was the general rule for the admiral and the vice-admiral to divide such perquisites, Lord Cutts sought for himself the vice-admiralty, and in 1696 and 1697 spoke confidently of getting it.¹⁵⁵ There is, however, no record that he was successful.

Upon Queen Anne's accession to the throne in 1702, Cutts was anxious about his reappointment as governor of Wight, for in a letter to Nottingham on June 1, 1702, he wrote as follows: "I am barbarously us'd in the Isle of Wight affaire, & without her Majesty's Justice and Favour shall not be able to serve".¹⁵⁶ It may be, too, that

¹⁵¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1695, November.

¹⁵² Worsley, *op. cit.*, cx.

¹⁵³ Sir William had incurred Cutts' displeasure by failing to sign a certain document (Worsley, *op. cit.*, 161). Joseph Dudley had been born in Massachusetts in 1647 and was therefore fourteen years the senior of Cutts. How or when they became acquainted is not known. As Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, jr., intimates, tho at first sight there was little in common between the impetuous soldier and the serious Dudley (he had been trained for the ministry), the fact that both were ambitious for place was a sufficient tie. Largely perhaps thru Cutts' influence, Dudley was appointed governor of Massachusetts in 1702. Frequent mention of Cutts' attempts to promote Dudley is made in the collection of thirty-two interesting and often personal letters before referred to. Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, the editor, tells of the discovery of the letters among his father's papers. A copy of a portrait of Dudley is also reproduced in the *Proceedings*.

¹⁵⁴ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, III, 123.

¹⁵⁵ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1693, 229, 308.

¹⁵⁶ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 29588.

at this time the less desirable post of the governorship of Jamaica was offered him in place of Wight, and from which he desired to be excused. However, his concern was needless, for he was reappointed governor of Wight on June 26, 1702, and retained the office until his death.¹⁵⁷

Lord Cutts had set himself another political goal: membership in the House of Commons. His opportunity came in December, 1693, with the death of the member from Cambridge.¹⁵⁸ There were at least two candidates, but Cutts was elected by thirteen votes,¹⁵⁹ and seated. His opponent, Sir Rushout Cullen (or Cullomb), however, charged fraud, and a committee of the House investigated and reported in favor of Cullen. The House did not support the committee and Cutts retained his seat.¹⁶⁰

Cutts sat in the House from this date until his death. In the four succeeding Parliaments he was chosen from Newport in the Isle of Wight as well as from Cambridge; but in the last two in which he sat—elected in the first and the fourth years of Anne—he was returned from Newport only.¹⁶¹

The only time in which he has succeeded in making his name even faintly memorable as a statesman is in connection with tacking the Occasional Conformity bill to the land tax bill in October, 1704. He opposed the "rider" on the ground that a division between the two houses would be an advantage to the French equivalent to our victory at Blenheim. Cutts' arguments prevailed and the bill was beaten.¹⁶²

It will be remembered that Lord Cutts had been married in December, 1690, to Mrs. Trevor, a widow (see above, p. xx). That the marriage was not altogether happy is suggested by a sentence in a letter from George Montagu, a grandson of Lady Cutts by a former marriage, to Horace Walpole.¹⁶³ "Our Magdalen was virtuously poked by her husband", Montagu wrote, "and had but little time to repent her matrimony". Lady Cutts died on February 19, 1693, a little over two years after their marriage.¹⁶⁴ Her death was a double blow to Lord Cutts, for her jointure of twenty-five hundred pounds went to the next heir.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁷ *State Papers Domestic* Entry Book 170, p. 40; Worsley, *op. cit.*, 142.

¹⁵⁸ *Commons Journal*, XI, 27.

¹⁵⁹ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, III, 244.

¹⁶⁰ *Commons Journal*, XI, 46-47, 92; *Members of Parliament*, Parts I and 11, 3 vols. Cullen was at last successful in 1697!

¹⁶¹ *Members of Parliament*, under the appropriate years, 1693-1705.

¹⁶² *Parliamentary Debates*, V, 361.

¹⁶³ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Report, Append., 116.

¹⁶⁴ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, III, 41.

Five months later it was rumored that he was to be married to Lord Mohun's sister, maid of honor to the Queen.¹⁶⁵ The rumor may have been only a cruel falsehood, for it was more than four years afterwards when he married again, and not Lady Mohun, but Elizabeth, the only daughter of Sir Henry Pickering of Cambridgeshire. Miss Pickering was about seventeen years old and worth fourteen hundred pounds a year. The wedding took place on February 6, 1697. In November of the same year she died in childbirth.¹⁶⁶ Considerable notice was taken of her death; funeral sermons were preached by Bishop Francis Atterbury, J. Provoste, and William Wigan; John Hopkins and Nahum Tate wrote memorial poems. Bishop Atterbury praised her for her great piety, spirituality, and sweetness of life, and held her up as a noble example.¹⁶⁷

A contemporary writer has stated that Lord Cutts married a third time, and that his wife survived him, but there is no further evidence of this marriage.¹⁶⁸

His wife's death was the first of a series of misfortunes. Early in December Lord Cutts was taken ill with a fever,¹⁶⁹ his constitution weakened probably by his many wounds and worry over his wife's death and his own debt. Again in March of the next year, 1698, he was, as he himself said, "extream ill (and if my mind be not settled one way or the other soon) I cannot live".¹⁷⁰

The truth is that he was beginning to pay the penalty of his spendthrift habits. His debts were £17,500; he owed money to tradesmen, military agents, his steward, and of course his sister. He had all sorts of excuses to offer for his debts—gifts to William before the Revolution, accumulated interest, decrease in rents, fees for securing loans, and small returns for his offices.¹⁷¹

Cutts was making a desperate effort to clear himself of this debt. In order to get ready money he had sold for eight thousand pounds—a sacrifice price—the Carryl estate worth two thousand pounds a year.¹⁷¹ In February, 1698, Cutts, Sir Henry Pickering, his father-in-law, and Joseph Dudley, his lieutenant governor, developed an elaborate plan to profit by making coins for the colonies, but the present

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 143.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 180, 310. Provoste, J., *Funeral Sermon on the Death of Elizabeth, Lady Cutts*, 1698, states that she was eighteen years old at her death.

¹⁶⁷ Atterbury, Francis, *Sermons*, I, 6 (text Eccl. 7, 2).

¹⁶⁸ *The Monthly Miscellany*, I, 50.

¹⁶⁹ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 313.

¹⁷⁰ Letter to William, dated Kensington, March 17, 1698, in *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, *ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 303.

patentees maintained that the applicants would infringe upon their rights and the permission was probably withheld from Cutts and his fellow-petitioners.¹⁷²

As a last resort, Cutts turned to William. He had served the King faithfully and loyally for years; despite the loyal service, he was poorer in 1698 than he had been in 1685; he had the King's long-standing promise to help clear him of debt. The King had done very much for others; all that Cutts asked was an estate in Ireland of three or four thousand pounds. "I could never think that I should be ill used for trusting to you, Sir, and for waiting with patience. . . . My debts are pressing and without payment I must go to prison or retire. . . . But I submit all and only beg that I may speedily know your Majesty's resolution. . . . For God's sake, Sir, don't refuse to speak with me whatever becomes of me".¹⁷³

If William gave him the estates or a sum of money, the record is missing. On the other hand, there is no evidence that he spent any time in jail. The probability is that just as before 1698, so after 1698, he was able to evade his debts and secure in some way best known to chronic debtors a temporary respite from the debts—temporary because he was still "vastly in debt" at the time of his death.¹⁷³

VI

COMMANDER IN IRELAND, LAST DAYS, CONTEMPORARY ESTEEM

Lord Cutts communicated late in March, 1705, with the Duke of Ormonde, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and promised that as the new commander he would do his best to serve and please his Grace.¹⁷⁴ He was delayed in taking up his duties, and it was June 14 before he landed in Dublin.¹⁷⁶ A week before he arrived he was made a lord justice of Ireland¹⁷⁷—a commissioner with vice-regal authority. In August he was given command of the royal regiment of dragoons.¹⁷⁸

A veteran soldier direct from the front, he was not long in finding weaknesses in the army administration in Ireland. He urged new adequate equipment, more active recruiting, greater attention to duty on the part of officers, and similar important reforms. These efforts

¹⁷² *Acts of Privy Council, 1680-1720*, 321; *Cal. State Papers, American*, 99, 100, 109, 125, 127.

¹⁷³ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 7th Report, 246.

¹⁷⁴ Unpublished Report of the *Histor. MSS. Comm.*; see the Preface. Information in this section otherwise unaccredited comes from this Report.

¹⁷⁶ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 15th Report, Append., Pt. 4, 32.

¹⁷⁷ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, V, 560.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 586.

were not lost upon the Duke of Ormonde, for he expressed his satisfaction with Cutts' attempt to better the service.

Enemies were responsible for the removal of Lord Cutts to Ireland, and they continued active during the remaining years of his life. Some of them he and Ormonde had in common. Cutts referred frequently to those who were trying to injure him and was apparently solicitous lest they should work him harm with the Duke.

Cutts' constitution had apparently been undermined by his attacks of illness in 1697 and 1698. The waters at Tunbridge Wells had, he thought, worked a "miraculous change" in him in August 1699.¹⁷⁹ But the climate of Ireland did not agree with him, for six months after his arrival he was ill with fever. From that time on he was not wholly well. He was so seriously ill in July, 1706, that his death was reported.¹⁸⁰ A change of physicians in October seemed to help him, but the holidays brought a return of his old malady. He looked for the spring to come and bring relief. On January 24, another attack seized him. It was at first thought not to be serious, and on January 25, he was able to write to the Duke of Ormonde. But he grew worse and died in Dublin on January 26, 1707.

Debt hounded him to the very end, for a gossiping writer has left on record that Lord Cutts "died vastly in debt, and his aides-de-camp were dubbed ten pounds a piece to bury him".¹⁸² Surely a miserable end for a proud man!

Three days later, on January 29, Lord Cutts was buried in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. There is, however, no mention of the burial in the records of the Cathedral, and there is nothing in the edifice at the present time to indicate his resting place,¹⁸³ and even in 1762 Horace Walpole and George Montagu, a grandson of Lord Cutts' first wife by a former marriage, were uncertain of it.¹⁸⁴

Lord Cutts had made his will in 1701. It was presented for probate to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in London early in February, 1707. By its terms, his sister, Joanna Cutts, and Mrs. Dorothy Pickering, probably a sister-in-law, were made executrixes. They were directed to sell his estates in Cambridge and Sussex, at least six in number, and with the money received meet his various obligations. To

¹⁷⁹ *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, *ibid.*, 191.

¹⁸⁰ *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 15th Report, Append., Pt. 4, 320.

¹⁸² *Histor. MSS. Comm.*, 7th Report, Append., 246.

¹⁸³ Le Neve, Peter. *Monumenta Anglicana*, 1717, IV, 120; *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, x, 498; and a personal letter from Dean James W. Matsh, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. Le Neve's authority is held to be unquestioned.

¹⁸⁴ Walpole, Horace, *Letters*, III, 491.

Mrs. Pickering he left all his china and a hundred pounds for mourning; to each of two nieces he left a hundred pounds; and to his sister he left the rest of his estate.¹⁸⁵

He died without issue and the line became extinct.¹⁸⁶ He was survived, however, by an unmarried sister Joanna, who had been with him in Dublin. In 1714 she petitioned the Treasury for payment of a sum of money which she said her brother had spent on Carisbrooke Castle. Tho no regular vouchers were discovered, the Treasurer was inclined to "move the Queen for something as of her Majesty's bounty".¹⁸⁷

At least three portraits of Cutts are extant. Two are in the Combination Room at St. Catharine's Cambridge, one representing him in youth, and the other at middle age;¹⁸⁸ the third, by W. W. Wissing, representing him as a young man, is in the National Portrait Gallery, London.¹⁸⁹

There is universal agreement among his contemporaries that Cutts was a brave and even rash soldier.¹⁹⁰ That he was a wise and far-sighted leader is not so certain. In commenting upon the capture of Venlo, Captain Parker criticised very severely the actions of Lord Cutts from the point of military tactics.¹⁹¹ An anonymous critic referred to him "as brave and brainless as the sword he wears".¹⁹²

¹⁸⁵ A copy of the will may be found in the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁸⁶ *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc., ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1708-14, 576-7.* The committee reported that they believed that Lord Cutts had spent over seven hundred pounds in repairs.

¹⁸⁸ Browne, G. F., *History of St. Catharine College*, 164. Owing to the war the portraits have been stored away and I have been unable to get photographs of them or information about them.

¹⁸⁹ It is Number 515, and measures 29½ by 24 inches. Cust, Lionel, *National Portrait Gallery*, I, 203. The portrait must have been done before 1687, for Wissing died in that year. He often repeated the Duke of Monmouth's portrait, and was sent into Holland to paint William's and Mary's. There was ample opportunity therefore for Cutts to sit for Wissing. There is likely a fourth likeness, for in Macaulay, *History of England*, 1913-14, V, 2533; and VI, 2633, are reproduced the Wissing portrait, and a reproduction from a mezzotint from life by P. Schenck, an Amsterdam engraver. The present location of the mezzotint is not given by the editor. As the inscription referred to below proves, the likeness was made after the accession of Anne and so represents Cutts in his forties. Over the likeness is his motto: "Sudore et sanguine". Under it are these words: "Jean Lord Cutts, Baro de Gowran, Colonel des Gardes angloises et Lieutenant-General des Armées de la Reine, Capitaine General et Gouverneur de l'Isle de Wight. Conétable du Chateau Royale, de Carisbrooke, etc., etc." According to Mr. Winthrop, *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., ibid.*, there exists an engraving representing Cutts on his deathbed, surrounded by Apollo, Minerva, and Cupid weeping.

Lord Cutts' arms are described in Burke, *Extinct Peerage*, 680.

¹⁹⁰ *Compleat Hist. of Europe for 1707, ibid.*; Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, II, Bk. VII, 325; John Macky, in Swift, *Works*, 1883, XII, 208-29; etc.

¹⁹¹ Parker, Robert, *Memoirs*, 86.

¹⁹² Mackinnon, *Coldstream Guards*, II, 306.

As for his other qualities, the following may be quoted from John Macky, who summarized many of the characters of Queen Anne's court: "He hath abundance of wit, but was too much seized with vanity and self-conceit; he is affable, familiar, and very brave".¹⁹³ Swift added a characteristic comment: "The vainest old fool alive".¹⁹³ Cutts lost the honor that was due to many brave actions of his by talking too much of them".¹⁹⁴ Cutts had the doubtful fame of being elsewhere the object of Swift's attack. Swift had for some reason a particular dislike for Cutts and wrote in 1705 a fifty-six line lampoon, "*The Description of a Salamander*"¹⁹⁵—the salamander being a nickname given to Cutts for his fearlessness in the face of fire. Swift finds in the salamander characteristics also to be found in Cutts. The lampoon is disgusting—"so dull and so nauseously scurrilous", according to Macaulay, "that Ward or Gildon would have been ashamed of it".¹⁹⁶ Lord Cutts was probably not a paragon, but neither was he the figure that Swift's vitriolic pen represented him to be. There is, indeed, reason to believe that he was better than the average courtier of the times; and there is no question about his possession of certain admirable qualities of character. A few lines from the lampoon follow:

"To paint a hero, we inquire
For something that will conquer fire.
Would you describe Turenne or Trump?
Think of a bucket or a pump.
Are these too low?—then find out grander,
Call my Lord Cutts a Salamander.

.
So when the war has raised a storm
I've seen a snake in human form
All stain'd with infamy and vice,
Leap from the dunghill in a trice
Burnish and make a gaudy show
Became a general, peer, and beau,
Till peace has made the sky serene,
Then shrink into its hole again.
'All this we grant—why then, look yonder,
Sure that must be a Salamander!'"

Several years after her brother's death, Joanna Cutts complained to Robert Harley, the lord treasurer, that Swift had abused her brother; but Swift replied that he "would never regard complaints".^{196a}

Of his reputation as a poet, I shall speak in the next section.

¹⁹³ Swift, *ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Burnet, *ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ Swift, *Works*, XIV, 63.

¹⁹⁶ Macaulay, *ibid.*, IV, 471, note.

^{196a} Swift, *Works*, II, 283.

VII

POETRY, AND RELATIONS TO WRITERS

John Cutts' first poem, *La Muse de Cavalier*, was published in November, 1685, but according to the poem itself, he already had some reputation as a writer of verse. When he began to write or under what influence, we can only guess.

As John seems to be the first member of the family who took any active interest in letters, we can not look to any family tradition as an encouragement to write. Nor was his college, St. Catharine's, likely to offer any strong incentive, for it was particularly interested in preparing men for the church.¹⁹⁷ But the university itself had been earlier in the century a "hotbed of poetry", and almost all the poets of the earlier generation had received their education at Cambridge; among them Kynaston, Herbert, Herrick, Crashaw, Quarles, Suckling, Stanley, Milton, and Cowley. The zeal for poetry doubtless continued after these men had gone, and it would not be difficult to believe that Cutts began to write verses while at the university, just as others had done.

Cutts left Cambridge apparently without his degree, as we have seen, and came up to London. In some way, perhaps thru his interest in his country's welfare, as a biographer has suggested, tho probably not without some recommendations, he found friends in Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, and the Earl of Leicester.¹⁹⁸ These friendships were undoubtedly important. The Earl of Leicester was a patron of literature and entertained weekly at his home at Skee, near London, the literary men of the day.¹⁹⁹ Lady Dorothy Sidney, whom Waller addressed in his earlier poems as Sacharissa, and with whom he was intimate all his life, was a sister of the Earl of Leicester and Algernon Sidney. Either thru these weekly receptions or thru acquaintance with the Sidneys, or both, Cutts may have become acquainted with Waller, who knew the aspiring poet well enough and cared sufficiently for him to commend Cutts' verses on "Wisdom". However, it is really not necessary thus to limit the ways in which Cutts became acquainted with Waller, for seventeenth century London was small, and a person of any standing would find the access to society easy. It was possibly at this time, too, that Cutts became acquainted with Monmouth, and thru him, with the Duchess, who was a distinguished patron of poetry,

¹⁹⁷ Mullinger, J. Bass, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, 58.

¹⁹⁸ The Earl of Essex, an intimate of this group, had been born only twelve miles from Arkesden, Cutts' birthplace, and later lived in Herts only thirty miles from Arkesden; it is possible that Cutts may have known Essex and have gained an entrance to the group thru the Earl.

¹⁹⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* LII, 234 ff.

an early friend of Dryden,²⁰⁰ and later a friend of Cutts. Lady Russell, the wife of Lord Russell, was for years intimate with Princess Mary; and it may well be that thru Lady Russell, as well as thru Monmouth, Cutts received welcome in 1685 at Princess Mary's court at the Hague and later found her a patron of his talent. Finally, Sir William Temple, who as ambassador to the Hague had become intimate with William, was in touch with Algernon Sidney; and Lady Temple, formerly Dorothy Osborne, was in constant correspondence with the Princess.²⁰¹

According to the current practice, some of Cutts' verses likely circulated in manuscript before their publication, for at the date of his first published poem, he already had a reputation as a writer of verse as well as that of a soldier; and it was in reply to an anonymous critic that he addressed an anonymous satire, *La Muse de Cavalier, or, an Apology for such Gentlemen, as make Poetry their Diversion, not their Business. In a Letter from a Scholar of Mars, to one of Apollo*.²⁰² Horace Walpole, in his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, 2d ed., II, 126, attributes *La Muse de Cavalier* to Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough; but Cutts' inclusion of the poem in his later volume disposes of any doubt as to the authorship. I see no reason for the use of the French title, unless it is that finding the title in French poetry, he appropriated it for his own satire.

The size of the pamphlet is 20 cm. x 15.5cm.; it contains only sixteen pages. Pages 1-12 contain *La Muse de Cavalier*; pages 13-14, a brief satire "To the author of *La Muse de Cavalier*", by an anonymous critic; and pages 15-16, "To an Unknown Scribbler Who directed a railing Paper to the Author of *La Muse de Cavalier*", by Cutts.

La Muse is a more or less serious renunciation of the life of a poet for the life of a soldier. It is at the same time a defense of avocations. Cutts had written verses only to pass an idle hour; his method has been realistic: he had no other rules.

"But drawing Knaves like Knaves, and Fools like Fools". The plain unadorned truth had hurt some, and these in amusing fashion expressed their derision of the poet-soldier. He concludes his reply with a suggested *modus vivendi*:

"But now and then to vary for Delight,
Fight ye like Poets, we'll like Souldiers write".

²⁰⁰ Dryden, *Works*, Scott and Saintsbury ed., XII, 228, note.

²⁰¹ Ewald, A. C., *Life and Times of Algernon Sidney*, II, 1; *The Love Letters of Dorothy Osborne*, XIX.

²⁰² The British Museum and the library of Yale University have copies of the original edition; and a rotograph copy may be found in the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

It is difficult to say how early the poem was written. It was composed before Cutts had a patron, for he had found, he tells us, no Maecenas to admire his Muse. This points to a date previous to his acquaintance with Queen Mary begun some time in 1685. It is not known whose attack he is answering; the critic, he says, writes essays, prologues, epilogues, love songs, satire, translations, senseless farce, disgusting plays, and "stately nonsense in heroic verse". Dryden did all this, but Dryden makes no mention of Cutts in any of his satires that remain. There were other men likewise who did all these things, but the data in Cutts' satire are too few for us to identify the anonymous critic. It is, in fact, quite possible that he had no particular person in mind, but according to a practice common in the writing of satire, was hitting at a man of straw whom he had set up.

Tho published in November, 1685, the publication in the same pamphlet of a satire by an anonymous critic shows us that *La Muse* had been written earlier. The inclusion of two or three coarse passages later omitted points (as will be shown more fully later) to composition before he came to Mary's Court. Actual publication took place, however, probably while he was at the court, but anonymously.

As satire, the lines may not be important, but neither are they without some genuine worth. The author shows good spirit. There are a good many pointed, but not savage, thrusts. Cutts seems to find just as much satisfaction in delineating himself as his critics see him as he does in delineating his critics as he sees them. Is it too fertile a use of imagination to say that in this we detect an evidence of the soldier's spirit of fair play? For him, it is a fight in the open with fairly keen blades, but he knows, too, that there are cracks in his own armor. There are three or four good quotable lines, such as

"Who talk all Weathers, and speak sense by fits";

or

"Sense will be sense, and he a Block-head still";

or

"You give a souldier leave to eat and drink;
And prithee why not give him leave to think?"

These, to be sure, are not memorable; but they are interesting and sturdy; and we could indeed wish that Cutts had written more satire.²⁰³

I have referred to several coarse passages. But the author seems to have otherwise unusual standards for his day in that he insists that he will not play fast and loose with names and reputations. Here, as well as elsewhere, he protests that he is not in league with sots

²⁰³ I have included among the poems for completeness' sake an unimportant satirical stanza addressed to Lord Skardell, an unknown rival of Cutts.

and fools and knaves, but that he aims solely to defend virtue and make her attractive. Thus, even in his first published poem, Cutts seemed to have written with a conscience and with a certain seriousness not common with the Court poets of the period.

The satire contains 139 lines of heroic couplet, the form in which most of his writing is done. There are three examples of the use of the triple rime—a trick of which Dryden was fond, Dryden, however, using it with the third line an alexandrine. The movement is flexible and spirited.

Early in 1687, immediately after his return from Buda, Cutts published his second volume: *Poetical Exercises Written Upon Several Occasions. Presented, and Dedicated to her Royal Highness, Mary Princess of Orange*. It is a volume of XVI + 64 pages, size 11.5 cm., × 17.5 cm., bound in leather. It contains twenty-one poems, among them being a slightly altered version of *La Muse de Cavalier*, and fifteen lyrics. The Dedication suggests that he prepared the volume in some haste.

There is no way of telling just when these poems were written. With the one exception, of course, they may all have been composed since 1685, but this conclusion is not at all necessary, since we know that he had written verses before that date. There is a hint in the Dedication that he wrote them in camp, but it is no more than a hint. He does, however, tell us definitely that the verses were written at various times. And he assures us that the published volume represents only selections.

Cutts had a reputation for vanity, but there is no evidence of vanity in his poetry—unless we insist that the very act of publication is presumptive. The title is modest: *Poetical Exercises*. In the Dedication he speaks of the volume as a "Present of . . . little value, of pretending "to no Exactness in an Art, which I never profess'd"; and that "most of [the poems are] very rough and imperfect." Why then should he have presumed to publish them at all? He gives his reason in the Dedication; his chief design is to write in defense of truth and virtue when they are almost driven out of the world. And he dedicated the volume to Mary because she would sympathize with his purpose and because too he was indebted to her for the hospitality of her Court.

This brings us naturally to a point of some interest in this second volume, namely, its freedom from all coarseness and almost all objectionable allusions. Ten lines from the first edition of *La Muse de Cavalier* and all of "To An Unknown Scribbler"—thirty-one lines more—(as well as "To the Author of *La Muse de Cavalier*" written by another than Cutts) are omitted from the 1687 volume. Moreover,

the love lyrics in the volume, a form of poetry which offers to a writer unusual opportunities for license, are virtually unobjectionable. I am inclined to believe that we ought to look to his patronesses for a good part of the restraining influence. The Princess Mary was herself a woman of high ideals and deep piety, and her Court can be described in two words: decorous but dull. The Duchess of Monmouth, too, was above all suspicion in an age in which suspicion was common.²⁰⁴ With two such high-minded women as patrons, and with his volume dedicated to one of them, Cutts could not afford to publish coarse lines. Finally, we have seen it to be quite possible that Cutts was acquainted with Lady Russell, Lord and Lady Temple, and possibly other members of the group; if there was such an acquaintance, the repugnance of these persons to the indelicacy of the times would have restrained Cutts, eager, as he was, for the good opinion and favor of powerful friends.²⁰⁵

Concerning the satire, *La Muse de Cavalier*, there is nothing more to add beyond the fact that the title was modified in the revised editions to *La Muse Cavaliere*—an unimportant change, for which the reason is not obvious.

The three poems, "Wisdom", "To Mr. Waller", and "Origo Musarum", all written in the heroic couplet, reveal the more serious side of Cutts.

The thought of "Wisdom" is not new: wisdom is not to be found with the hermit or the epicure or the miser; it is rather the gift of heaven. And if heaven, he adds, will vouchsafe him this gift, how happy and courageous he will be! But if the thought is not new, it is at least expressed with vigor and life; and the poem does not drag. The bravado of the last eight lines is a prophecy of the daring that was to characterize the whole of the poet's military career. If his choice of subject and the tendency to moralize seem surprising, we should not forget under whose patronage he wrote.

This poem on "Wisdom" Waller was good enough to commend. We do not have Waller's commendation, but we do have Cutts' buoyant acknowledgment of it. Now that he has been recognized by the great writer, nothing in poetic achievement seems beyond his powers. It is just such a poem as many another very young man might have written under similar circumstances, for it is full of enthusiasm and gratitude. The soldier in Cutts again crops out in his figure of the heedless volunteer.

²⁰⁴ See concerning Mary, Jesse, J. H., *The Court of England from 1688 to George III*, I, 129; and the Duchess of Monmouth, Dryden, *Works*, Scott and Saintsbury ed., II, 285, note.

²⁰⁵ If it be objected that he published *La Muse de Cavalier* after he had formed these friendships, it may be answered that the satire was published anonymously.

The development of the thought in "Origo Musarum" was again of a kind to please his patroness. The poem is in reality a defence of poetry. The Muses were not born of heathen gods, but are rather of heavenly descent; and it was they who inspired Moses, David, Solomon, and Paul. If this then is their origin, the dignity and high worth of poetry must at once be admitted. Such a conception of the descent of the Muses, while perhaps not frequent in English poetry, is not without parallel, for it may be found in the opening lines of *Paradise Lost*, Book I, in which Milton refers definitely to the Muses' inspiration of Moses and David; and in the early lines of Book VII, where at some length he speaks of the descent of one of the Muses, and refers to her as "heaven-born." Waller, too, in *Of Divine Poesy*, Canto II, writes:

"Delphos unknown, no Muse could then inspire
But that which governs the celestial choir".

Finally, we ought not to forget, in tracing the origin of this idea, Princess Mary's zeal for religion and its probable influence upon her courtier.

The poem is interesting in its reflection of the author's thoughts and concerns. In David,

"Who was a Poet, and a Souldier too",

he naturally found much to interest him; he devoted four pages to David—almost twice as many as to Moses and Solomon. David's banishment leads to the reflection that it is

"Heaven's usual way to form the greatest Minds".

He could hardly help thinking here of his own flight from England for safety after Monmouth's Rebellion. And when he wrote

"When wanted in the Council, or the Field,
To fruitful pains he made his pleasures yield;

.
But when his bus'ness gave him leave to rest,
With gentler Arts he mollified his Breast",

his own double interest in war and poetry must have come to his mind. In the reflection

"And we may certainly conclude from this,
That Love, when true, 's the greatest Human Bliss:
But few on earth are so divinely blest:
The hardest things to find, are still the best;
Some never have the Blessing in their Power,
And most who have, neglect their lucky Hour",

there was more than likely present to his thought the knowledge of William's faithlessness to Mary, and perhaps a misgiving over the forced breaking of his own engagement to Elizabeth Villiers. Finally, in the last ten lines he attempts a definition of poetry. Is it in the matter? Or is it in the manner? Does it lie in the decking out of the chosen thought? He is cautious enough not to commit himself, but rather concludes with a reflection with which even the critic most set upon phrasing a definition will agree:

"'Tis (like the strange effects of Heat and Cold)
Something in Nature better felt than told".

By the command of the Duchess of Monmouth Cutts read and appraised the poetry of Boileau. *To the Dutchess of Monmouth* is the record of his appraisal. To Boileau he gave unstinted praise.

It is impossible to tell even from the full title of the poem just what works of the French poet Cutts had read; his phrase is simply "Monsieur Boileau's Poems". But in the opening lines a reference to

"all the Modern Writers who have Try'd
With easie Wit, Mens Folly to deride",

points clearly to Boileau's satires. And an examination of the satires verifies this inference. Cutts mentions Boileau's treatment of the hypocrite, the libertine, the pedant, and the fop; Boileau has satirized these men in Satire IV. Cutts mentions briefly the French writer's attitude toward true nobility; Satire V of Boileau is "Sur la Noblesse", and Cutts' phrasing and thought are definitely influenced by Boileau's. It is also probable that Cutts had read Satires VIII and IX, the former upon Man, and the latter an attack upon certain authors, for he comments briefly upon the subjects discussed in these satires. Oldham had translated Satires V and VIII, but we may feel certain that Cutts read Boileau in the original.²⁰⁶

Cutts gave Boileau almost unstinted praise as a satirist. There is no doubt of Boileau's cleverness and ability to reproduce almost photographically the objects of his satire; but it is wide of the mark to say that Boileau is

"a good Model of true Poetry",
or that in his verse

"Something so very charming there appears".

²⁰⁶ In Satire V Boileau writes:

"Choisissez de César, d'Achille, ou d'Alexandre";

Oldham,

"Take Caesar, Alexander, whom you please";

Cutts,

"Tho drawn from *Caesar's* or *Achilles* blood".

Cutts, it is observed, chose the name of Achilles, which does not appear in Oldham's translation. However, I ought not to omit to add that Oldham and Cutts both use "mouldy parchments" for Boileau's "vieux parchemins"; but it is easier to suppose a coincidence in the translation of "vieux" than to account for the use of the different proper names mentioned above.

Nevertheless, such praise, however extravagant it seems to us, is to be expected, for Cutts would unquestionably accept the contemporary judgment according to which Boileau was the master poet of the age.

The other verses in the volume are lyrics almost wholly on the theme of love. Here, too, Cutts writes after the manner of his time. One feels about his lyrics, as about much else of the Restoration poetry, that they are no more than exercises, at least in the sense that the emotion is artificial, the expression is exaggerated, and the names mere counters. Six or seven of the lyrics are on the young man's particular theme—the despair and anguish of disappointed love. But there is about these as about all the other lyrics the note of “amorous gallantry”; the man is not making love; he is simply writing verses. Two lyrics may be exceptions to this generalization: possibly “Hear, gentle Nymph”; and “Only tell her that I love”, by all odds the best lyric in the volume, the only one that shows any abandon at all, and with one exception the only one, so far as I know, the music of which has been preserved.

There is evidence in these lyrics of the influence of the prevalent Platonic doctrines of love. Platonic love, with its exaltation of friendship and its emphasis on the spiritual qualities of love, while often distorted and perverted and even sensualized, could be and was an influence for purity. We have commented before upon the unusual freedom from coarseness in the poems of Cutts; Platonism as well as the influence of Mary and the Duchess of Monmouth may be responsible for it.

Further evidence of the influence is to be found in thoughts and phrases. In “To a Young Lady”, for example, he speaks of the angels being “maintained by Harmony and Love”. In “Friendship”, it is in

“Two serene harmonious Minds . . .
Where Love delights to build a Seat”;

and a parting exhortation is that they

“in Mists no longer roam,
But make our selves entirely blest”.

In this same poem he holds that secrecy is fundamental to friendship—a Platonic tenet. Other Platonic doctrines, such as the exaltation of constancy and purity, find repeated exemplification in these lyrics. If it be asked where Cutts came under the influence of these teachings, we may point to his possible acquaintance with Sir William Temple and Lady Temple, formerly Dorothy Osborne; and with Sir Charles Cotterel, master of ceremonies to Charles II, and originally

a member of the group centering about "the Matchless Orinda", with whom Platonic Doctrines were a strong influence.²⁰⁷

Ten of Cutts' lyrics were set to music, eight by Robert King, one by John Abell, and one by James Hart. These were men of note in the world of music of the time: King was a composer and a member of the royal band of music in William's and Anne's reigns; Abell was a celebrated lutanist and alto singer and a gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1679-1688; Hart was a composer; a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and chorister of Westminster Abbey. It is not likely that men in these positions would have taken the trouble to set Cutts' poems to music if he had not some reputation at court or in some other influential circle. Unfortunately, the music of only two lyrics has come down to us, that for "Only tell her that I love", and "The Innocent Gazer". The songs were originally set by King; but whether the extant MSS. are by King cannot be decided, for the MSS. are anonymous.²⁰⁸

The lyrics of Cutts show a great variety of verse forms. He uses the heroic couplet the verse in which three-fourths of all his poetry is written, a seven line 4-stressed stanza riming *ababccc*, the 4-stress quatrain riming *abab* and *aabb* in alternate stanzas, a 5-line stanza of heroic measure, with the fifth line an alexandrine riming *aabbb*, a 3-stress quatrain (the last line 4-stress) riming *abba*—an early use of this rime, and one or two unconventional forms. When we remember that he wrote only fourteen lyrics in all, the variety of structure is additionally interesting. It is likely that he was merely trying to see what he could do with various forms; but the very attempt at variety indicates a flexible mind and some freedom from restraint. Moreover, the distribution of the accent within the lines is usually free from monotony—an item that points to some care in the construction of the verses.

The changes in pronunciation lead readers to attribute undue carelessness to poets of an earlier century. A careful examination, however, will usually show that the poets of a past age have taken no more liberties than poets of the present. And this is true of the poems of John Cutts. The following were probably good rimes in the seventeenth century, tho they are no longer so: *good, blood; move and prove with love, above and grove; great, feet; gild, field; gone, alone; evil, devil*; etc. This is not to say that there are no imperfect

²⁰⁷ For a discussion of Platonic love and "the Matchless Orinda" group, Fletcher, J. B., *The Religion of Beauty in Women*, esp. 181-189; Saintsbury, G., *Caroline Poets*, I, 486-9; Gosse, E., *XVIIth Century Studies*, 229-258.

²⁰⁸ Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS., 31461; a rotograph copy may be found in the library of the University of Pennsylvania. The music for "The Innocent Gazer" may be found in *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, IV, 309.

and bad rimes in Cutts, for there are examples of both; but the percentage of such rimes in Cutts is probably not greater than in his contemporaries.

Except for a poem on the death of Queen Mary^{208a} in 1694, Cutts wrote nothing, so far as we know, after 1687. The reasons are not far to seek. We have seen that his life was crowded with activities that must have taken almost all his time. Some men indeed would have been able under similar conditions to find time for writing, but apparently Cutts was not one of them. An equally potent reason, perhaps, is to be found in William's attitude toward literature. Few English sovereigns have had less interest in letters than he; and no favorite of his would be inclined to continue the cultivation of a poetic gift. It is true that Cutts was no stranger to the Prince of Orange at the time of the publication of his earlier volumes; but the acquaintance had been short, and associations with English literary patrons were still fresh.

The most conspicuous example of Cutts as a patron is in his relationship with Steele. Like Cutts, Steele had written in March 1695, a poem on the death of Queen Mary; it was published anonymously under the title of *The Procession*, and was dedicated to Lord Cutts, ostensibly because he had been a faithful servant to the Queen. Steele was at the time apparently unknown to Cutts, but it was not long—probably in 1695—before he had been taken into Cutts' household and secured an ensign's commission in the Coldstream Guards. Steele became his private secretary in Wight, and the relations between the two grew to be very intimate—almost those of a son or brother, according to Steele himself. In 1700, Lord Cutts vigorously defended Steele for his share in a serious duel with a Captain Kelly. In 1701, Steele dedicated his *Christian Hero* to Lord Cutts, suggesting in the dedication that a work of such a nature could appropriately be addressed to him.

But by 1705 a quarrel between the two men had developed. Steele complained that Cutts had failed to pay him for long and chargeable attendance. Cutts' response was that Steele had acknowledged that the advantageous friendship of the one had balanced the services of the other. The correspondence seemed to have ceased at this point, probably without payment of the debt.²⁰⁹ It is likely that Cutts'

^{208a} Walpole, Horace, *A Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, II, 245, states that this poem is to be found in *State Poems*, Part II, 199, but a searcher in the British Museum has tried without success to find it for me. A few lines are given in Strickland, Agnes, *The Queens of England*, VII, 448; judged by these the poem is mediocre.

²⁰⁹ For all these relations with Steele, see Aitkens, G., *The Life of Richard Steele*, 2 vols. Aitken includes copies of some of Cutts' business papers with which Steele had to do (I, 55-8), and reproduces an order to Steele in Cutts' autograph.

friendship had helped Steele to military advancement, but there is no evidence that he introduced him to the literary circles or was any influence in his literary fortunes. Steele described in the *Tatler*, No. 61, a scholar of fire and a soldier of fire; and in No. 196, he wrote of patrons and dependants; but in neither of these is there more than a suggestion of Lord Cutts or of his relationship with Cutts. Steele did, however, quote in the *Tatler*, No. 5, only two or three months before his quarrel with Cutts, the first stanza of "Only tell her that I love", but without giving Cutts the credit of authorship.

At least two other authors dedicated their works to Lord Cutts. Edward D'Auvergne addressed to him in 1696 his *History of the Last Campaign in the Spanish Netherlands*; Cutts, it will be remembered, played an important part in this campaign. And in 1704 Thomas Goodwin dedicated to Cutts a *History of the Reign of Henry V* in nine books.²¹⁰ It is not known, however, what further friendship existed between these men and Lord Cutts.

We have seen in the previous section the contemporary appraisal of Cutts as a soldier. The praise of him as a poet is more moderate.

His *La Muse Cavaliere* is, as we have seen, a spirited reply to an anonymous critic who had advised him not to give up the trade of war for poetry.

In 1698 John Hopkins, himself an aspiring but not too successful versifier, addressed a flattering poem to Cutts in which he spoke of the double crown due Cutts; of their expectation now that Dryden was old, he would celebrate William's fame; and of the success he had had alike with sword and pen.²¹¹

"He was indeed," said another, "a polite gentleman, a scholar, and a friend to the Muses, and there are some fragments of his poetical fancy extant, which discover the excellency of his genius that way."²¹²

Steele saw enough virtue in the first stanza of "Only tell her that I love" to quote it in the *Tatler*, No. 5, as illustrating the love of Honest Cynthia. And Horace Walpole, in writing an epitaph for a proposed monument to Cutts, said:

"He gave her subjects for the immortal lyre,
And sought in idle hours th' tuneful choir;
Skilful to mount by either path to fame,
And dear to memory by a double name."²¹³

²¹⁰ Browne, G. F., *The History of St. Catharine College*, 164, states the title of the book as *The History of Edward V*; but there is no such title by Goodwin listed in the British Museum Catalogue. On the other hand, *The History of the Reign of Henry V* is listed under Thomas Goodwin; and the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXII, 150, states that this work was dedicated to Cutts.

²¹¹ Nichols, John, *Select Collection of Poems*, II, 325-7.

²¹² *Compleat History of Europe*, *ibid.*

²¹³ Walpole, Horace, *Letters*, III, 494. Walpole also includes Cutts in *A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, 2nd ed., II, 244.

But he adds in a postscript: "The latter lines to own his having been but a moderate poet, and to cover that mediocrity under his valour, all which is true."

There is truth in Walpole's estimate. And yet there are writers better known than Cutts whose verse is not superior to his. He is worth remembering as a not unworthy representative of a group of cultivated late seventeenth century poets, who wrote gracefully without being conspicuously poetical; as a writer who almost never stooped to the coarseness to be found in much of contemporary writing—a mark of some distinction; and a soldier who also had some skill with the pen.

POETICAL
EXERCISES
WRITTEN
Upon Several Occasions.

PRESENTED, and DEDICATED
TO
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS,
MARY
Princess of ORANGE.

Licensed, *March 23, 1687⁶.*

ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Bentley*, and *S. Magnes*, in *Russel-*
street, in *Covent-Garden*, 1687.

To
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE
PRINCESS OF ORANGE

Madam,

I Should not offer Your Royal Highness a Present of so little value had I not this to encourage me; that 'tis not the Gift itself, but the Way of giving, which finds Acceptance with Great, and Generous Minds. And in this (as in other things) they resemble the Divinity; that looks with more favourable Eye upon Sincerity, and Truth (tho' in the plainest Dress) than upon all the Pomp, and Splendour of a Costly Worship.

It is not as a Poet, Madam, that I address my self to Your Royal Highness. For I pretend to no Exactness in an Art, which I never profess'd. The Course of Life, which I have form'd to my Self, lies quite in another Road; and I have never convers'd with the Muses, but in some dead Intervals of Time; when I have had no Company but my own self, and no Business but to think.

So that, when I throw these Papers at Your Royal Highnesses Feet, it is not that I think they deserve that Honour; but as an humble expression of Duty; which I am more particularly oblig'd to pay; because I have been so happy as to pass some Time in Your Royal Highnesses Court; and to be a Witness of those Things, which have enter'd Your Character in the Books of Fame; and rais'd it to so high a Pitch, that it strikes Your Enemies with Silence, Your Friends with Joy, and all the World with Admiration.

I know, Madam, to flatter Greatness is a Disease common in Courts; and those few who escape it, because they converse with an infected Multitude, are seldom look'd upon as sound; but I am sure, I was never guilty of that Weakness. And indeed, not to mention the real Injustice, as well as the numerous ill Consequences, that attend it; there is something in the very Nature of Flattery too mean, and little for an Honest Mind to stoop to.

But at the same time that I abhor Flattery, I love Justice; and in all, that I say to Your Royal Highness, upon this Occasion, everybody

is obliged to declare (or with Silence give their Consent) that I only give Honour to whom Honour is due.

It is certain, that very few are fit to hear their own Elogies, for where there is the least Inclination to Pride, or Vanity, it turns their Heads, and exposes 'em to a fall. But a Mind elevated above all that is Light, or Trivial; when it looks upon the Shadow of its own Greatness, is excited with a generous Heat, and presses forwards in the Race of Glory.

And therefore I will presume to shew Your Royal Highness, what Streams of Blessings are flowing upon you, by the influence of Heaven, and thro' the Channels of Nature, and Fortune.

Tho', Madam, You have the Happiness to be lineally descended from an ancient Race of Kings; and joyn'd to a growing Hero, whose Courage and Conduct (like the Light) are best known by themselves; and can never have so good an Elogy, as his own Actions; yet Providence has taken such particular Care in forming You; that You have fewer Equals in Personal Advantages, than in Birth, and State.

I could enlarge upon this in as many Particulars, as there are Ways of being distinguish'd from the rest of the World. And in every one of these Heav'n has some Design. The various Gifts of Nature are not dispens'd in vain. Beauty, and Gracefulness are no small Advantages to Great Persons; giving a certain Force to all their Words, and Actions, which is hardly to be resisted; and perswading us, with a silent Eloquence, into an awful Veneration of their Excellencies, and an imitation of their Vertues. At the same time, a quick, and right Apprehension of Things: a clear and solid Judgment; with a Natural Tendency to all that is Just, and Good, and Charitable; are such inestimable Blessings in a high Station; that you are more beholding to God for being so qualified, than for being born a Princess. When I add to all this, that Your Soul is touch'd with a Spark of that Fire, which warms the Hearts of Angels, and Kindles Mortality into Desires that are Immortal; it gives such a double Lustre to all the rest of Your Accomplishments; and invests You with something so Glorious, and Divine; that we can never have Eyes enough to Admire You, or Tongues enough to praise You.

But the Greatness of my Subject carries me beyond my Self; and I am lost in a Multitude of Thoughts too mighty to be utter'd. I shall therefore leave to a Historian what is so much above my Talent, and Business at this Time.

Those, who are rash enough, to sully any part of this Character, will certainly betray a great deal of Weakness, or Malice; and the Injuries, which they invent, will fall at last upon their own Heads. Justice, and Truth are the particular Care of Heaven. They surmount

every thing; and their Lustre breaks through the thickest Clouds. When any Subtilty, or Force of Argument can persuade Men to believe, that the Sun does not Shine; or that the Stars are not bright; then (and not till then) shall the Glory of an Illustrious Life be stifled, and obscur'd.

As for this Little Present, Madam; which I presume to offer Your Royal Highness; 'tis composed of some Things, which have been writ at several Times, and upon several Occasions; and, as they have been thrown aside among other things of the same Nature (which I forbear to Print, because I have not had time to look 'em over) so they are most of 'em very rough, and imperfect. But, at the same time, I cannot doubt of Your Royal Highnesses Protection, to any thing, that is Writ in Defence of Truth, and Virtue; at a Time, when they are almost driven out of the World. And That has been the chief Design of most of these Papers. I have aim'd at the truest Images of Nature, the fairest Pictures of Virtue, and the purest Ideas of Divinity. I have endeavor'd to represent the Passion of Love, not as a great many modern Hands have drawn it, but (as it ought to be) in its own native Beauty, and Innocence.

I ask Your Royal Highness Pardon, for the Liberty, I have taken. I wish You every Thing, that may contribute to make You entirely happy, And, as this little Present has been only the employment of some Idle Hours: so, if it had been the Business of all my Life; I should think my self more than doubly paid; in having an opportunity of declaring to the World; that I am (with an inviolable Zeal, and Sincerity)

Madam,

Your Royal Highnesses

Most Humble,

Most Faithful, and

Most Devoted Servant,

J. Cutts.

TO HER
ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE

Princess of ORANGE.

Upon my presenting her with some
Papers of Verses.

*BLest Princess! whilst a more auspicious Fame,
Through diff'rent Climates, celebrates your Name,
And tells the World, that in your Royal Blood
There flows a Spirit not more Great, than Good:
Maintain your Character; and don't refuse
This little Present from a faithful Muse.*

*Large Gifts have Charms for almost ev'ry Mind,
And to the Heart an easie Passage find:
But such as these, how-e're sincere and true,
Are only fit for Heav'n, and such as You;
Great Souls, who, in themselves entirely blest,
Regard not who give most, but who give best.*

WISDOM

Victorious Wisdom, whose supreme Command
 Extends beyond the Bounds of Sea, and Land!
 'Tis thou alone, that dost reward our Pains
 With Pleasures that endure, and solid Gains.
 But, oh! what art thou, and where dost thou dwell?
 Not with the Hermite in his lonely Cell;
 The sullen Fumes of whose distemper'd Brain
 Make the dull Wretch torment himself in vain;
 While of the World affectedly afraid,
 He shuns the End for which Mankind was made. 10

Not with the Epicure in all his Pleasure;
 Nor with the Miser on his Banks of Treasure:
 The One's a Slave, bound fast in Golden Chains;
 The Other buys short Joys with lasting Pains.

Not in the vain pursuit of partial Fame,
 The gaudy Outside of an empty Name;
 When mov'd by Chance, not Merit, common Breath
 Gives the false Shadow sudden Life or Death.
 Honour when meritoriously assign'd
 To Noble Actions, and a God-like Mind, 20
 Is then indeed a Blessing sent from Heaven,
 A bright Reward for Humane Labours given:
 But when 'tis Fame's mistaken Flattery,
 A blind Applause of Pride and Vanity,
 The worthless Idol ought to be abhorr'd
 And is by none, but Knaves or Fools, ador'd.

Thus, as I'm searching with the feeble Light
 Of Humane Reason, in dark Error's Night,
 For what has oft escap'd the piercing Eye 30
 Of lofty Wit, and deep Philosophy,
 From the bright Regions of Eternal Day,
 Methinks, I see a small but glorious Ray,
 Dart swift as Light'ning through the yielding Air
 To an unspotted Breast, and enter there.
 Thrô every corner of the heart it shines,
 Subdues the Passions, and the Soul refines;
 Leading it safe thrô all the dangerous Ways
 Of this alluring World's mysterious Maze.
 This is that Wisdom I so much adore;
 Grant me but this, Kind Heav'n; I ask no more. 40
 This once obtain'd, how happy shall I be?
 Kings will be little Men, compar'd to me;
 They, in their own Dominions only Great,

I, Conqu'rou of the World, my Self and Fate.

Thus arm'd, let Fortune use me as she will,
I stand prepar'd to meet with Good or Ill.

If I am born for Happiness and Ease,

And prosperous Gales salute the smiling seas,

Those Paths I'll chuse, the blessing to repay,

Where Vertue calls, and Honour leads the Way:

50

But if the Weather of my life proves foul,

Tho' Storms arise, that make whole Kingdoms rowl,

Yet I must on; and 'spight of all their Force

I'll steer my Vessel her appointed Course;

With her firm Beak the Billows she'll divide,

And plow her Passage thro' the foaming Tyde.

And at what Time, or in what Place so e're
The pale-fac'd Conquerour happens to appear;

Fierce as he is, his Violence I'll tame,

60

And make the King of Terrors change his Name.

While others enter trembling at his Gate,

I'll march up boldly in Triumphant State;

And passing thro' it into Worlds unknown,

Put on my *Glorious Robes*, and my *Immortal Crown*.

To Mr. WALLER.

Upon his commending my

Verses of Wisdom.

O Sir, no more— —You know not what you do;

Such unexpected Praises, and from You.

(Who are install'd among the Sons of Fame,

And the best Writers take a Pride to name)

Have set my heedless Fancy all on Fire,

And make it to a dangerous Heighth aspire.

I fain would mount the Muses airy Horse,

To try the utmost of his Speed and Force;

With him (methinks) I could out-strip the Wind,

And leave the slower Lightning far behind:

10

I'd visit Worlds by Mortal Eyes unseen,

And go where none before has ever been.

But if, like too ambitious *Phaeton*,

To seek a Glorious Ruin I rush on;

If over-heated in the rapid Course,

My fiery Pegasus, with angry Force,

Pressing his furious head, should break the Reins,

And wildly fly thro' Thoughts unbounded Plains,

I fear I should, like that unhappy Youth,

20

While with too vast Designs my Hopes I sooth,
 Instead of gaining Honour and Renown,
 From my ungovern'd Flight come tumbling down,
 Yet all these threatning Dangers I shall slight,
 If you commend my lines, and bid me Write,
 The smallest Breath, assisted by your Name,
 Exceeds the loudest Shouts of common Fame.

So in the War, sometimes, a Volunteer
 Doubles his Vigour, when a Gen'ral's near;
 And if he hears him say, 'twas bravely done,
 Unmindful of his Fate, he hurries on,
 Till daz'ling Honour courts away his Breath,
 And makes him run into the Arms of Death.

30

All have a natural desire to please,
 But 'tis in some a dangerous disease;
 When uncontroll'd by Reasons juster Sway,
 It turns their Heads, and takes their Sense away.
 Fame, like a *Syren*, Charms the listning Ear,
 And makes us blindly credit all we hear.
 Then think upon some safe and gentle Ways,
 To stop my fate, and moderate your Praise.

40

If in my Verse you see some Thoughts Divine,
 They're to the Subject due, the Faults are mine.
 Say then, lest any, Sir, your Sense mistake,
 You praise the Author for the Subjects sake.

The Tyranny of PHILLIS.

Written by a Lady.

Hear, gentle Nymph, and by Example kno'
 What those who mock Love's Pow'r must undergo.

This Heart of mine, now wreck'd upon despair
 Was once as free and careless as the Air;
 In th' early Morning of my tender years,
 Ere I was sensible of Hopes and Fears,
 It floated in a Sea of Mirth and Ease,
 And thought the World was only made to please;
 No adverse Wind had ever stopp'd its Course,
 Nor had it felt great Love's tempestuous Force,
 (That Storm that swells the Tydes of Human Care,
 And makes black Waves come rolling from afar.)
 'Till too much Freedom made it grow secure,
 As if the Sunshine always would endure;
 And I, with haughty and disdainful Pride,

10

Mock'd the blind God, and all his Force defy'd.
 At this enrag'd, the injur'd Deity
 Chose out the best of his Artillery,
 And in a blooming Virgin's Dove-like Eyes
 He planted his Victorious Batteries; 20
 (*Phillis* her Name, the best of Woman-kind,
 Could Love have gain'd the Empire of her Mind)
 These shot so furiously against my Heart,
 That Nature's strength, tho' much improv'd by Art,
 With Groans gave way to each resistless stroak,
 As when the Thunder rends some sturdy Oak.
 The wing'd Battalions from her lovely face }
 Flew to the Breach, and, rushing in apace, }
 Did quickly make her Mistress of the place. }

As Love's Vice-gerent I her Laws obey'd, 30
 It must be so when Conquerours invade.
 But when she saw how pow'rful she was grown,
 Made chief Commandress of the vanquish'd Town,
 She would no more Love's just Decree obey,
 But sett up for an Arbitrary Sway:
 And when her Tyranny was grown so great,
 That ev'ry humble Sigh provok'd her Hate,
 Reason, an active States-man, Wise and Stout,
 Heading the injur'd Native, turn'd her out.

The God of Love will find some gentle Fair 40
 To govern in her room; but let her swear
 To hold a merciful and equal Sway
 And all his old Imperial Laws obey.

Till she appears, no Charms can *Strephon* move,
 Unless it be the gen'ral Thoughts of Love;
 That thin *Camelion-Dyet* of the Air,
 Fancy's Idea of an Unknown Fair.
 For where, or what she is, Heav'n only knows,
 'Till Time and Fate the Secret shall disclose.
 But there's so strange a Magick force in Love, 50
 The talking on't sometimes may fatal prove;
 And therefore, gentle Nymph, let's have a care,
 And tell no more such Stories now, for fear,
 Like Children, after talking of a Spright,
 The fancy on't should make us dream at night.

To a Young LADY,
 Who was said to be almost in Love.
 Upon her Recovery.

I come, bright Virgin, to congratulate
 The blest Reverse of your unhappy Fate.
 Victorious Love, whose Violence and Rage
 No Hero e'er could vanquish or assuage;
 Victorious Love, that keeps his Slaves in awe,
 That conquers Conqu'rors, and gives Monarchs Law;
 Love, that by boundless Passion, wild Desire,
 Confounds Mankind, and sets the World on Fire;
 That Haughty Tyrant, that Imperial Foe
 You have o're-come, and lead in Triumph now;
 Whilst Guardian-Angels round about you flye,
 Triumphant at your Souls great Victory.

10

Those glorious Servants of the Court above,
 (Whose God-like immaterial Beings move,
 And are maintain'd by Harmony and Love)
 Cherish no Flames but what unspotted are,
 That upwards move, and have their Object there,
 Their Divine Essence makes 'em disapprove
 Those Storms of Nature, which we take for Love
 And you, like one of them, have scorn'd your Mind
 Should harbour any Flame that's not refin'd.
 Love, when submissive, innocent, and pure,
 You could within your gentle Breast endure;
 Within those unpolluted Walls it lay,
 As Harbinger to some more happy Day;
 But when the growing Fire began to burn
 Too fierce, and Love did to disorder turn
 You then, inspir'd by some Diviner Flame,
 Its dang'rous Violence did quickly tame,
 With mighty Thoughts the raging Storm supprest,
 And threw the Viper from your panting Breast.
 May Heav'n be kind, and take a special Care
 Of one so very Good, and yet so Fair.

20

30

To a LADY,
 Who desired me not to be in
 Love with Her

I will obey you to my utmost power;
 You cannot ask, nor I engage for more,
 But if, when I have try'd my utmost Skill,

A Tyde of Love drives back my floating Will;
 When on the naked Beach you see me lye,
 For Pity's sake you must not let me dye.

Take Pattern by the glorious God of Day
 And raise no Storms but what you mean to lay,
 He, when the Charms of his attractive Eye
 Have stir'd up Vapors, and disturb'd the Sky,
 Lets Nature weep, and sigh a little while,
 And then revives her with a pleasing smile.
 If 'tis to try me, use me as you please,
 But, when that Tryal's over, give me ease;
 Don't torture, one that wishes you no harm;
 Prepare to cure me, or forbear to Charm.

10

MUSARUM ORIGO;

OR,

The Original and Excellence of the *Muses*.

I sing the Muses great and glorious Birth,
 Those spotless *Nymphs*, that bles'd the *Infant Earth*,
 Conceived by Heavenly Dew, and born of Thought,
 E're Heathen Gods a spurious Brood begot.
 A far more lovely, and delightful Race,
 Than that of the *Castalian* Sisters was.
 Celestial Nymphs assist my lab'ring Pen,
 And what you give shall be your own agen.

In dissolute, and undiscerning times,
 When Vice unmaskes, and Vertues pass for Crimes,
 The sacred Gift of charming-Poetry,
 Is look'd on with a slight, and scornful Eye;
 But if we trace the steps of former Years,
 It's high Descent, and Dignity appears:
 'Twas first reveal'd to that (a) illustrious Man
 With whom Religious Rites and Laws began;
 And can we think that God would e're impart
 To such a one a mean or trivial Art?

10

When *Israel* with a wonder pass'd the Sea,
 And saw how Fate pursu'd their enemy;
 Who thought like them to have escap'd the Waves,
 But soon were buried in their wat'ry Graves;
 Upon their mind to strike the blessing home,
 And make 'em fit for Dangers yet to come,
 Their Godlike Chief employ'd the Poets Art,
 And blew the fire that warm'd the Peoples Heart.

20

(a) *Moses*

This Gift the valiant Hebrew (b) General knew
 Who was a Poet, and a Souldier too;
 To make him fully after Gods own Heart,
 Heav'n thought it fit this Blessing to impart; 30
 And with such force of thought he was inspir'd }
 A while his Hearers list'ned, and admir'd, }
 And found their Blood at last to Action fir'd }
 He painted Suff'rings with such charming Graces,
 That willing People ran to their Embraces,
 Despis'd a present Gain, or vain Applause,
 And chose to suffer in a glorious Cause.
 He rais'd the Mind above the reach of Fear.
 And arm'd the Souldier for approaching War;
 Instructing what was still the safest Shield, 40
 And who were always sure to win the Field;
 For in a Cause that's just, to live or dye
 Is to the Brave an equal Victory;
 Alive in bleeding Foes their Swords they sheath,
 And, if they fall themselves, they vanquish Death:
 Religion, which hath naturally a Face
 Adorn'd with sweetness, and Celestial Grace,
 In his fine Thoughts, in his soft Members drest,
 Has Charms too ravishing to be express'd.
 He shew'd the Vanity of Hopes and Fears. 50
 Which anxiously depend on future years;
 Since all our Destinys are form'd above,
 And in a firm, unshaken Order move.
 And (that which made his Copies take with All)
 He was Himself their great Original:
 As prophets most successfully will teach,
 When in their Lives they practice what they Preach;
 How finely twisted is the Chain of Fate. }
 When Heaven had fitted him for things so great, }
 And laid the scenes of all his future Sate; } 60
 The Curtain drew, and (like a rising Sun,)
 The God-like Youth his glorious Race begun;
 His Soul, which was illustrious from his Birth
 (Tho' yet conceal'd, and lodg'd in common Earth)
 Brake thro' the Clouds, which had its Rays opprest,
 And shew'd the Hero blooming in his Breast.
 The Envious view'd him with a Jealous Eye,
 Enrag'd to see his Vertue soar so high;
 They knew his Rural Life, and low Descent,

(b) *David*

And wond'ring what the busie Planets meant. 70
 Unmov'd he stood upon the brink of Fate,
 The Object of an angry Monarch's Hate;
 Banish'd the Court, in Trouble and Disgrace,
 Espos'd to shifts, and driven from place to place;
 Heav'n's usual way to form the greatest Minds:
 As Trees take Root, when shaken by the Winds.
 But 'tis in vain to strive with Destiny,
 What is Dece'd in Heav'n will surely be;
 That God, who has resolv'd to make him great,
 Dash'd all his Foes, and laid 'em at his Feet; 80
 He laugh'd at all their policy and Strife,
 And bless'd the World with his illustrious Life.

When wanted in the Council, or the Field,
 To fruitful-pains he made his pleasure yield;
 His Wit was busi'd with important things,
 The Arts of War, and Policies of Kings;
 But when his bus'ness gave him leave to rest,
 With gentler Arts he mollifi'd his Breast;
 From whence soft measures flow'd, and ev'ry Line
 Was like his Actions, Generous and Divine 90

When *Solomon* succeeded to the Crown,
 (The Wisest Prince that ever grac'd a Throne,)
 Among the various Gifts that fill'd his Heart,
 He was inspir'd with this transcendent Art.
 Witness his Songs of Love so finely writ,
 Where Nature puts on various forms of Wit,
 To move the secret springs of Sympathy,
 And fire the Soul into an Extasie.

To shew the Pleasures of the blest above,
 He drew the Emblem of a happy Love; 100
 And we may certainly conclude from this,
 That Love, when true 's the greatest Human Bliss:
 But few on Earth are so divinely blest:
 The hardest things to find, are still the best;
 Some never have the Blessing in their Power,
 And most who have, neglect their lucky hour;
 Pride and Ambition, Rules of Birth and State,
 And Avarice, give Impression to their Fate;
 From whence a thousand Errors have their Birth,
 And shut 'em from this Paradise-on-Earth. 110

O happy Times of Vertue, Truth, and Sense!
 When in the Muses Virgin-Innocence,
 By wicked Men and Heathens unenjoy'd
 They were in all the highest things employ'd.

In the great Temple of the living God,
 (The Place of his Mysterious Abode,)
 They sung *Jehova's* everlasting Fame,
 And made the sacred Walls repeat his Name;
 They wing'd the Soul, and taught her how to fly
 Thro' all the glorious Regions of the Sky. 120
 To taste those living Streams that flow above,
 And bathe in Rivers of Eternal Love;
 They sung of wonderful and mighty Things,
 The suddain Turns of War, and Fate of Kings:
 Shewing the hand that moves the great machine,
 And forms the whole Design of ev'ry Scene;
 With strength of Thought and Fancy unconfin'd,
 At once they pleas'd, and profited the Mind;
 In ev'ry Accident a sure Relief,
 They vented Joy, and moderated Grief. 130

The Heathens, lost in Ignorance's Night,
 And wand'ring after ev'ry glim'ring Light,
 Were by seducing Spirits cheated still,
 And under Forms of Goodness practis'd Ill.
 What ever God had taught the happier *Jews*.
 And made of Great Authority and Use,
 The Devil copy'd out with curious Art,
 The better to ensnare the *Gentiles* Heart.
 So Gold, that's false, too often goes for true,
 And counterfeited Jewels cheat the view. 140
 But, as the value of a Copy tells
 How (more or less) the Original excels;
 By what the *Heathens* thought of Poetry,
 We judge its real and ancient Dignity.

Poet, and Prophet was the same with them,
 Titles of Knowledge, Honour, and Esteem;
 Whose Works the wisest Men, and greatest Kings,
 Observ'd as sacred, and important Things.

The (c) great Apostle therefore sent to call
 The scatter'd Gentiles, and prevent their Fall, 150
 When with the best *Athenian* Wits he strove,
 And chose the strongest arguments to move,
 Confirming Reason with Authority,
 Thought none so fit as their own Poetry.

Say, Divine Muse! what is this wondrous Art,
 Which breaths such Gentle Fire into the Heart?
 Is it the noblest Truths, the best express'd,
 Or Nature in Harmonious Numbers dress'd?

(c) *St. Paul.*

Is it the strongest Thoughts the most refin'd,
 Like Cordial Drops to fortifie the Mind;
 To cherish and excite that Nat'ral Heat,
 Which spurs us on to all that's Good and Great?
 'Tis (like the strange effects of Heat and Cold)
 Something in Nature better felt than told.

160

LA
 MUSE CAVALIERE;
 OR, AN
 APOLOGY

For such Gentlemen as make Poetry
 their Diversion, not their Business.
 In a Letter from a Scholar of *MARS*, to one of

APOLLO

Damon, I'm told the Poets take it ill
 That I am call'd a Brother of the Quill;
 To end their Jealousie, I quit the Name,
 And tho' I honour a true Poet's Fame,
 Yet, since my Genius points out other Ways,
 And bids me strive for Laurels, not for Bays,
 I'll keep my Heart for great *Bellona's* Charms;
 If e're she takes me to her Glorious Arms,
 She shall Command my Fortune and my Life,
 My Muse is but my Mistress, not my Wife.

10

Sometimes, to pass my idle Hours away,
 Or ease at Night the Troubles of the Day,
 Her pleasing Company diverts my Mind,
 And helps my weary Temples to unbind.

The painful Tiller whistles to his Plow,
 And as the rural Virgin milks her Cow,
 Without offence to more accomplish'd Art,
 An untaught Melody revives her Heart;
 So I, who labour in Life's painful Field,
 With harmless Pleasure strives my Cares to gild;
 Whilst, in wild Notes, my heedless Thoughts I sing,
 And make the Neighb'ring Groves and *Eccho's* ring.

20

Like those, who paint for Pastime, not for Gain,
 I sit me down upon the spacious Plain,
 And, looking here and there among'st the Throng,
 I take rough Sketches, as they pass along;
 Nor do I follow any other Rules,

But drawing Knaves like Knaves, and Fools like Fools.

I grant you, 'tis a Method out of Use,
 But 'tis the best for my unpolish'd Muse; 30
 She has not learn'd to flatter for Applause,
 Or laugh at any man without a Cause;
 To injure Virtuous Women for a Jest,
 That none may pass for better than the rest;
 Or do like some, who, when they are refus'd,
 And, for their fond Impertinence, abus'd,
 Vent their weak Malice in a lewd Lampoon,
 And blast the Lady's Fame to save their own;
 A Fault the Sparks are much addicted to,
 They do't themselves, or pay for those that do. 40
 My Muse has no *Mecenas* to admire
 In Raptures high as Thought and sometimes higher;
 Nor, if she had one, cou'd she make him pass
 For witty, if his Lordship were an Ass;
 Or gild his darnish'd Name with, *Good and Just*,
 If he liv'd loosely, or betray'd his Trust:
 Nor can she, to oblige a sottish Town, }
 Bribe their lewd Fancies for a false Renown, }
 By praising Vice, and crying Virtue down. }

This makes some little Criticks fume and rage, 50
 And, in a League, against my Lines engage;
 They are not so concern'd for Wit, or Art,
 But 'tis the Truth that stabs e'm to the Heart.
 If stripping Folly of that gay Attire,
 Which Knaves invent, and Fools so much admire,
 I shew her naked to the World, that so
 Men by the Aspect, may the *Demon* know;
 Some more Notorious Fool, that thinks he's hit,
 Cry's z— — — —ds, do's he pretend to be a Wit?
 D— — — — me, if e're I heard such silly stuff, 60
 There he breaks off: And speaks the rest in Snuff.

And who is this, so pithy and so short?
 A Country-Blockhead, or a Fop at Court?
 Some Heir, whose Father (snatch'd away by Fate)
 Left the young Spark less Judgment than Estate
 With nothing but a modern Education, }
 To Hunt, and Hawk, and Whore, for Recreation; }
 And Drink, in Honour of his Prince and Nation; }
 A Bubble, that has nothing in't but Air,
 Is driv'n, by every Blast, it knows not where: 70
 Just such an empty Thing is this young Sot,
 Who talks by Rote, and thinks he knows not what.

Such Criticks I may possibly forgive,
Because (poor Things) they speak as they believe.

Or is't a Milksop, that has liv'd at Court,
That Glorious School, tho' n'ere the better for't?
Bred up in fruitless Luxury and Ease,
Wash'd and perfum'd into a soft Disease,
Which makes him fear the Wind, the Rain, or Sun,
As bad as some raw Captains do a Gun?
The Censure of so visible an Ass
Won't hurt me much: And therefore let it pass.

80

Is it a feeble Scribler, that pursues
His own Disgrace by fooling with a Muse?
But hold—At this (methinks) he cocks his Hat,
And smiling, says, I love you, Sir, for that;
You laugh at Faults, which You (Your self) commit,
Unless y'are lately set up for a Wit.

No, Child. But what I write is Sense and True,
And that is more than can be said of you.

90

Besides, if I've a Mind to play the Fool,
(Because, you know, 'tis Modish, and looks cool,)
You'll own, I may; And so, you'll say, may you,
By the same Rule. No doubt on't, Prithee do.
Let me be quiet, and do what you will;

Write Essays, say fine Things, and Rhyme your fill;
Make Prologues, Epilogues, Love-Songs, and Satyr;
And, at low Ebb of Fancy, turn Translator;

Disgrace the *Theater* with Senseless Farce,
Or stately Nonsense in Heroick Verse,

100

With Plays, that thwart the meaning of the Stage,
And help not to instruct, but spoil the Age,

In which, to turn true Virtue out o' Doors,
The Hero's all are Sots, the Ladies Whores':

The times will bear it, and it is no more
Than many such as you have done before.

But meddle not with me; Or, if you must,}

Be sure the Faults you find are very just, }

Or if I parry ye, expect a Thrust. }

110

As for the rambling Injudicious Wits,
Who talk all Weathers, and speak Sense by Fits;

If they should, in my Absence, run me down,
And to expose my Weakness, shew their own:

Let 'em be quiet, and enjoy their Way;
They answer to the full, what e're they say;

Satyr upon themselves; They save my Writing;
And every Thing they say is Dev'lish biting.

Thus ev'ry partial Censurer is free
 To play the Fool himself, and laugh at me;
 Let him contrive to carp at what he will;
 Sense will be Sense, and he a Block-head still. 120

And, *Damon*, since I make this Declaration,
 That Poetry's my Pleasure, not Vocation,
 You, and your Brethren, ought not to refuse
 Such Pastime to an unpretending Muse.
 The War, you say, 's my Calling. And what then,
 You use a Sword; Why may not I a Pen?
 You give a Souldier leave to eat and drink;
 And, prithee, why not give him leave to think?
 You may indulge with safety all that do,
 There are not many like to trouble you. 130

Then let each Party lay their Quarrels by,
 Mind their own Trade, and live in Charity.
 We for an Iron-Harvest will prepare,
 And plow for Honour in the Fields of War:
 While you are taught more safe and gentle ways,
 To purchase an Inheritance of Praise:
 But now and then, to vary for Delight,
 Fight you like Poets, we'll like Souldiers write.

TO THE
 DUTCHESS
 OF
 MONMOUTH,

Who honoured me with her Commands
 to read over *Monsieur Boileau's* Po-
 ems, and give my Opinion of him.

Madam, I come a thousand thanks to pay }
 To that fair hand that pointed out the way, }
 And shew'd me where so great a Geinus lay; }
 Your generous Commands have guided me
 To a good Model of true Poetry.
 Of all the Modern Writers who have try'd,
 With easie Wit, Mens Folly to deride,
Boileau, to me, the most accomplish'd seems;
 Bold and Severe, yet free from all extreams.

Nature to some has giv'n an active Wit, 10
 But hardly Sense enough to manage it;
 Who, laughing at the Follies of the Town,
 Discover twenty greater of their own.

Others in Judgment only do excel,
 And in Affairs of State do pretty well;
 But when their Nat'ral Talent they abuse,
 And offer Force to an unwilling Muse,
 Their awkward Rhymes their very Truth disguise,
 And make the World afraid of being wise.

But *Boileau's* easie and unerring Wit, 20
 Does ev'ry Coxcomb so exactly hit,
 And sets before his eyes so true a Glass,
 That Vice no longer can for Vertue pass;
 He shews the Hipocrites affected zeal,
 That lyes in talking, not in doing well;
 His high Pretences serving for a blind,
 In God-Almighty's Name to cheat Mankind.

But does not bid us to avoid that Evil;
 Declare for down-right Atheism, or the Devil:
 As the rash Libertine is wont to do, 30
 (Something the shallower Monster of the two)
 Who Vertue impudently ridicules,
 And swears that all Religious Men are Fools;
 'Till dying as he lives, like a dull Beast,
 He's damn'd in earnest, and so spoils his Jeast.

He shews a Fool that reads huge Volumes o're,
 And is no wiser than he was before;
 Who fills his Head with empty terms, and looks
 For Wisdom no where but in musty Books;
 'Tis not conversing with the Dead will do, 40
 Unless sometimes one reads the Living too.

If an illiterate Sot of Quality
 Would make true Knowledge pass for Pedantry,
 Despising Letters, as Mechanick Arts,
 Too mean for Gentlemen, and Men-o'-Parts;
 While his whole Business is to Comb and Dress,
 And in a *Billet-doux* his Mind express;
 At every Publick Meeting to appear,
 And with some Nonsense plague some Lady's Ear;
 What-e're he finds in his own flatt'ring Glass, 50
 I'm sure in *Boileau's* he's an arrant Ass.

He tells us what is true Nobility,
 Not mouldy Parchments, and a Pedigree,
 Tho' drawn from *Caesar's* or *Achilles* Blood,
 Unless a Man be Valiant, Just, and Good:
 If a gay Bawble, of high Titles Proud,
 Serves merely to be gaz'd at by the Croud,
 And by his Ancestors is only known,

Not having any Merit of his own ;
 Tho' in his Father's Fame he glories so, 60
 How is it possible for him to know,
 But that his Mother, in a wanton Vein,
 Suffer'd some loose Gallant to cross the Strein?

Sometimes our Satyrst employs his Pen,
 To copy out another sort of Men ;
 Those scribbling Interlopers, who without
 Commission from *Apollo* venture out.

Here in a Song some Fopling of the Town,
 Who has a mind to have his Talent known,
 In cool Blood curses Fate, and Sighs, and Crys, 70
 And at the end of the Fourth Stanza dyes.

There a mean fawning Fellow skrews a Lye
 To such a senseless pitch of Flattery,
 As is beyond the greatest Mortals due ;
 And ridicules his Muse, and Hero too.

But whither is't my heedless Muse would run?
 Madam, I hope you'll pardon what sh' has done ;
 Before so great a Judge of Sense and Wit,
 She should not once pretend to talk of it ;
 Yet when I read th' illustrious *Boileau's* Verse, 80
 Something so very charming there appears,
 And with so strange a heat inspires my Pen ;
 But hold, My Muse would fain begin agen,
 No, I shall teach her a far better Way,
 Since she to *Boileau's* Fame will Tribute pay ;
 And, Madam, I shall give him full his due,
 By only saying, that he pleases You.

IN PRAISE OF

HUNTING:

Leaving the Town and *PHILLIS*.

Tell me no more of *Venus*, and her Boy,
 His flaming Darts, and her transporting Joy ;
 With Dreams of Pleasure they delude our Mind,
 Which pass more swiftly than the fleeting Wind ;
 The bright, the Chaste *Diana* I'll adore,
 She'll free my Heart from Love's insulting Power ;
 Thro' pleasing Groves, and o're the healthful Plain,
 She leads the innocent, and happy Swain.

Then farewell guilty Crowds, and empty Noise;
 I leave you for more pure, and lasting Joys;
 In stately Woods, gilded with Morning Rays,
 I'll teach the Eccho's great *Diana's* Praise. 10

STREPHON and PHILLIS.

A Dialogue set by Mr. King; Servant to
 his MAJESTY.

A soft Symphony of Instruments.

Streph. Hear, *Phillis*, hear my humble Tale,
 And then pronounce my Destiny;
 If Truth and Honour can't prevail,
 It is my Fate, and I must dye.
 But should my Death Injustice prove,
 It would offend the God of Love,
 And might on you his Vengeance move.

Phil. Why, Shepherd, what have I to do
 With *Strephon*, or his Destiny?
 No, no, dissembling Wretch, 'tis you 10
 That would contrive to ruine me;
 When, by a soft enchanting Art,
 You would a secret Flame impart,
 To Fire the Temple of my heart.

Stre. What can a wretched Swain contrive
 Against the force of matchless Charms?
 I only ask that I may live,
 Or if I dye, dye in your Arms:
 I languish in so warm Desire,
 And burn with such a Noble Fire; 20
 As can't without my life expire.

Phil. Cou'd I your Sighs and Vows believe,
 I should incline to pity you,
 But 'tis your Bus'ness to deceive,
 And not your Nature to be true.
 Begon then, flatt'ring Youth, begon,
 And leave me in these shades alone,
 For if I love, I am undone.

Another Symphony of Instruments.

CHORUS.

But see what Crowds of *Cupids* stand to hear,
 And seem to laugh at what we vainly fear;
 Let us, like them, all Dreams of Ill despise,
 And bravely on to win a noble Prize.

FRIENDSHIP.

A SONG, set by Mr. King.

Friendship dwells with Secresie,
 In discreet and faithful Hearts,
 Free from foolish Vanity,
 And Flattery's dissembling Arts.

Others may, by Talk and show,
 Let the World their Passion know;
 Ours shall be unseen, untold,
 Safe and secure as hidden Gold.

Fond and Idle Fops believe,
 Love delights in Noise and State;
 But the Fools themselves deceive,
 And blast the Joys they would create.

10

Two serene harmonious Minds,
 Which no meaner Passion blinds,
 Make that quiet blest Retreat,
 Where Love delights to build a Seat.

Come, my Dearest *Phillis*, come,
 Let's unfold each other's Breast,
 And, in Mists no longer roam,
 But make our selves entirely blest.

20

Gently, with indulgent Sway,
 Make my yielding Heart obey,
 And, if I unfaithful prove,
 Then may I dye, and lose your Love.

A SONG.

Made to a *French* Tune

On Racks of Love distended
 Here lies a faithful Swain,
 Wishing his Life were ended,
 Or some Respite to his pain.

The plague of dubious Fate
 Is an Ill beyond enduring,
 If I am not worth your curing,
 Kill me quickly with your Hate.

But why should Wit and Beauty
 Be guilty of such Crimes?
 Sure 'tis a Womans Duty
 To be merciful sometimes. 10

With Justice you may slay
 The ungrateful, and aspiring;
 But the Humble, and Admiring,
 You should treat a nobler way.

A SONG,

Set by Mr. Hart, Servant to his Majesty.

As gazing on that lovely charming Face,
 My Eys survey the Inchantèd Place;
 There, there, methinks, I see
 The God of Love, in all his Gallantry,
 And Troops of lesser Deities attending by.

While from that glorious Field of mighty Love
 Cupids in aiery Forms do move,
 And subtilly conspire
 To strengthen Passion, and enrage Desire;
 Still conquering ev'ry Heart, or setting it on Fire. 10

Mine, by my unresisting Eyes betray'd,
 And vanquish'd, willingly obey'd;
 Nor do I wish to be
 Again Possessor of my Liberty;
 No, *Phillis*, no, I love in you ev'n Tyranny.

Farewell to *PHILLIS*.

Set by Mr. King, &c.

One Look, and I am gone;
 Phillis, my Part is done;
 Death, your pale Rival's come,
 And calls me home.

Clasp'd in her frozen Arms,
 I shall be free from Harms,
 And only pity thee
 In misery;
 For, since your kindness is turn'd into Hate,

From cruel you, I'll flye to kinder Fate: 10
 Then, too late,
 You'll wish me back again;
 Then, too late,
 You'll pity him your Eyes have slain.

DESPAIR.

A SONG, set by Mr. *Abel*, Servant to
 His MAJESTY.

O You immortal Powers of Love,
 Why do you all my Hopes remove?
 You give me up to certain Fate,
 And force me to be desperate.

Is it for this I've sacrific'd
 My Quiet, and the World despis'd?
 To burn, to bleed, to sigh, to groan,
 To Love, be wretched, and undone?

When first you did my Soul inspire,
 And I aproach'd your gentle Fire, 10
 Was I unwilling to forego
 My Ease, and be a Slave to you?

I hasten'd to the Myrtle Grove,
 And there an Altar rais'd to Love;
 On which my Heart still burning lies,
 Inflam'd, at first, by *Phillis's* Eyes.

She pull'd it from my panting Breast,
 And in a Veil of Crimson drest,
 'Twas on the fatal Altar laid,
 By the too rash, unthinking Maid. 20

For, oh! I fear, she did prophane,
 And take Love's sacred Name in vain;
 For which unhappy Error, I,
 By injur'd Love, am doom'd to dye.

The Innocent GAZER.

A SONG,

Set by Mr. *King*, &c.

Lovely *Lucinda* blame not me,
 If on your beauteous looks I gaze;

How can I help it, when I see
Something so charming in your Face?

That like a bright unclouded Sky,
When in the Air the Sun-beams play,
It ravishes my wond'ring Eye,
And warms me with a pleasing Ray.

An Air so settled, so serene,
And yet so gay, and easie too,
On all our Plains I have not seen
In any other Nymph but you. 10

But Fate forbids me to design
The mighty Conquest of your breast,
And I had rather torture mine,
Than Rob you of one Minutes Rest.

A SONG,
Set by Mr. *King*, &c.

Only tell her that I love,
Leave the rest to her and Fate,
Some kind Planet from above,
May, perhaps, her pity move;
Lovers on their Stars must wait,
Only tell her that I love.

Why, oh why, should I despair,
Mercy's pictur'd in her Eye;
If she once vouchsafe to hear,
Welcome Hope, and farewell Fear: 10
She's too good to let me dye,
Why, oh why, should I despair.

A Song, set by Mr. *King*, &c.

The cruel Nymph had with dissembled Hate,
Pronounc'd her *Strephon's* wretched Fate,
When the Swain saw a Combate in her Eye,
Youthful and active Love,
With daring Honour strove,
And eagerly pursu'd the Victory.

At length the Imperious Foe was forc'd to yield,
And Love commanded all the Field:

Then, on her Cheeks his Banners he display'd,
 And in Triumphant State,
 To applaud the Conquerours Fate,
 Legions of *Cupids* grac'd the lovely Maid. 10

On a Fine Lady's Singing.
 A Song, set by Mr. King, &c.

How like *Elizium* is the Grove,
 When chaste *Dorinda* sings of Love?
 It charms the troubled Soul to rest,
 And makes a Calm in ev'ry Brest:
 With various kinds of Harmony,
 She strikes at once the Ear and Eye:
 So soft her Voice, and she so Fair,
 Gives double sweetness to the Air.

The wretched *Strephon*, dumb with Pain,
 And Grief too heavy to complain: 10
 When soft *Dorinda* tunes her Voice,
 Forgets his Woe, and dreams of Joys.
 O Lovely Charmer! be so kind,
 To ease sometimes a Wretches Mind:
 His Groans with gentler Sounds controul,
 And breathe a Balm into his Soul.

Farewel to Love.
 A SONG, set by Mr. King, &c.

Strephon retiring from the Town,
 Came Musing to a Neighb'ring Grove,
 Where, in the Shades, he laid him down,
 And to himself thus talk'd of Love.

'Twas in the Golden Age, said he,
 That *Cupid* held a peaceful Reign,
 He exercis'd no Tyranny,
 Nor could his Subjects then complain.

The innocent, and faithful Swain,
 Not ty'd to Rules of Birth and State, 10
 With freedom rambled o're the Plain,
 And, like the Turtle, chose his Mate.

The Nymph comply'd without Constraint,
 By her own Fancy only led,
 And never any sad Complaint
 Disturb'd the happy Lovers Bed.

But, oh! The Golden Age is gone,
 And *Cupid's* Laws are not the same.
 Love is an empty Name alone,
 'Tis Fate and Fortune play the Game.

20

And must it thus for ever be?
 Will those blest Days return no more?
 Then Thoughts of Love disturb not me,
 I'll from this Minute give your o're.

TO MY LORD SKARDELL.

Insulting rival, do not boast
 Your Conquest lately won.
 No wonder that her heart was lost
 Where senses first were gone.
 O'er one that's under Bedlam's laws
 What triumph can be had.
 For loving you was not the cause
 But sign of being mad.

FINIS.

NOTES TO THE POEMS

THE TITLE PAGE

Roger L'Estrange: Tory journalist and pamphleteer (1661-1704). He advocated in 1663 a more stringent press censorship and in the same year was appointed licenser of the press.

A form of press censorship was in force soon after printing was introduced, but supervision was particularly active in the seventeenth century; licensing was required, tho often avoided. In 1695 the House of Commons refused to renew the provision requiring licensing. Stage plays must still be licensed, however, in England.

R. Bentley, S. Magnes: Bentley's name begins to appear on title pages in 1675 and is found frequently during this period. The name of S. Magnes does not appear until 1683, tho that of James Magnes is found as early as 1670.

THE DEDICATION

Elogies: a summary of character; usually, and here, in a favorable sense.

lineally descended, etc.: Mary was, of course, descended in the Stuart line, the elder daughter of James II, and sister of Queen Anne.

growing Hero: William of Orange, to whom the Princess Mary had been married in 1677, when she was fifteen.

Beauty and Gracefulness: the dedication is, of course, written in the language of flattery. One of Mary's biographers, however, refers to her as "the beautiful Lady Mary"; and her portraits give her a modicum of beauty.

to sully any part of this character: just what or who is referred to is not evident. Dr. Lake, one of Mary's former chaplains, found fault with her for playing cards on Sunday and for adopting William's latitudinarian principles; and her father James set Dr. Covell, another chaplain, and several ladies of her court to spy upon her.

As for this Little Present: see pages xlii-xliii for references to items in this paragraph.

Truth and Virtue . . . when they are almost driven out of the World: the latter half of the seventeenth century is, as is well known, notorious for its shameless immorality and indecency of speech.

WISDOM

6 ff. Compare the following from Katherine Philips' "Content":

"But now some sullen Hermit Smiles,
And thinks he all the world beguiles,
And that his cell and dish contain
What all mankind wish for in vain.

But yet his pleasure's follow'd with a groan,
For man was never born to be alone".

7. *The Sullen Fumes of whose distemper'd Brain*: this is the old notion that gases from the stomach rise to the brain and cause diseases—in this case, perhaps, insanity. Thus affected, the hermit without any benefit torments himself by a living a solitary life.

10. *the End*: i. e., society.

17, 18. *When mov'd by chance, etc.*: public opinion, moved by chance, not merit, destroys or constructs, at will the false shadow, reputation.

59 ff. There is something of the same spirit here that later at Buda and Namur gave Cutts a name for extraordinary bravery.

64. The poem closes with an alexandrine.

TO MR. WALLER.

No letter or poem of Waller's commending Cutts' verses has been found. Commendation from Waller, to most of his contemporaries the name above all other names in English poetry, was, of course, exceedingly gratifying; but such forms of commendation were common, and can be looked upon only as a polite acknowledgment of friendship.

27. *So in the War*: a figure from Cutts' own profession of arms.

THE TYRANNY OF PHILLIS.

4. *careless*: exempt from care.

33. *Commandress*: a word used chiefly in the seventeenth century.

46. *That thin Camelion-Dyet of the Air*: because of the chameleon's power to exist for long periods without food, they were formerly supposed to live on air. This was the usual spelling of chameleon down to the nineteenth century.

17 ff. Various forms of this figure are to be found frequently in our literature. The best known, perhaps, is Sir John Suckling's "The Siege". For other uses see Schelling, F. E., *Seventeenth Century Lyrics*, 260.

MUSARUM ORIGO

19. Cf. the following from Mrs. Philips "On the Fair Weather just at the Coronation":

"So Israel past through the divided flood,
While in obedient heaps the Ocean stood;
But the same sea (the Hebrews once on shore)
Return'd in torrents where it was before".

25. *Their Godlike Chief employ'd the Poet's Art*: see Exodus 15, 1-19.

40. *safest Shield*: surest means of protection against injury.

60. *Sate*: a misprint for "State".

81. *Policy*: tricks, devices. Obsolete.

133. *still*: continually.

153. He refers, of course, to the quotations in Acts 17, 28.

159. *Cordial Drops*: restorative or invigorating medicine.

LA MUSE CAVALIERE

The first edition was licensed by Roger L'Estrange on November 10, 1685, and was printed in the same year for Tho. Fox, at the Angel and Star in Westminster Hall.

1. *Damon*: Damon was a goatherd in one of Virgil's eclogues. By using the name, does Cutts mean to suggest contempt for his critic?

45. *darnished*: a misprint for "tarnished".

57. *Demon*: evil spirit, not a protecting divinity. So used in *Henry V*, II, 2, 120.

61. *Snuff*: the use of snuff became fashionable in England about 1680. The use of the word here is thus comparatively early.

In the first edition after lines 80, 84, and 109 respectively these sets of lines follow:

"Who can no Bus'ness, but the Ladys, do,
And that sometimes, I doubt but weakly too".

"Who, in her forc'd Embraces, vainly strives,
Like some old Citizens with brisk young Wives".

" But if a Satyrists in Masquerade,
Who hides himself, because he is affraid,
Like Murderers, attacks me in the Dark,

I know not how to deal with such a Spark:
 Yet, if I catch him, I'll his Crimes rehearse,
 And have the Rogue hang'd up in Chains of Verse".

109. *Or*: the first edition has *For*.

116. *Satyr*: we must probably understand "they write," or the equivalent, to precede "satyr".

118. *Thus ev'ry*: the first edition has *In short, Each*.

These two sets of lines follow on pages 13-14 and 15-16 in the first edition of the poem:

To the Author
 OF
 LA MUSE
 DE
 CAVALIER.

Thou say'st thou'rt *Mar's* Scholar, and 'tis true,
 So far, we own, th'ast giv'n thy self thy due;
 For thou art ev'n as much to learn in Fight
 (Tho' thou dost praise thy Writing) as to write.
 Yet thou art angry, that the World thinks fit
 To brand thy Poems with the want of Wit;
 And, in thy Vindication, writ so ill,
 Y'ave giv'n this World fresh Cause to laugh on still.
 Ev'n *Bessus* has to Courage more Pretence,
 Than you, a *Brother of the Quill*, to Sense:
 For thou hast hitten ev'ry thing so pat,
 No Body knows what 'tis thou wou'd'st be at.
 Write on then, Friend, carp at the Stage and Court,
 Some Authors were created for our Sport,
 And thou art one . . . who, with such mighty Pains,
 Hast prov'd thou hast large *Ears*, but little *Brains*.

To an unknown SCRIBLER, Who
 directed a railing Paper to the Author of
 LA MUSE de CAVALIER, &c.

EASING my Body, t'other Day,
 Or sh — — — g, as a Man may say,
 My Foot-man brought me in your Rhymes
 (How luckily Things hit sometimes!)
 No Posture could have been so fit
 To deal with such a desp'rate Wit,

Who is at War with Common Sense,
And plays the Fool in's own Defence.

But whilst thou think'st to laugh at me,
All Men of Judgment smile, to see
How Nature makes a Jest of Thee,
In giving thee a Fatal Itch
To talk of Things above thy Pitch.
By such weak Spight as Thine, we find
How Heav'n has to the World been kind,
In tempering the Knave with Fool,
And making Envious Railers dull.

Thou say'st *I carp at Court and Stage*,
But thou art blinded with thy Rage,
I only carp at Sots, like Thee,
Who are to both an Infamy.
Thou say'st, I'm vex'd, the World thinks fit
To brand my Verse with want of Wit:
Because it happens so to Thee,
Thou fain would'st turn it upon Me.
Thy Muse sings hoarse, and out of Time,
An arrant *Billings-gate* in Rhyme:
Therefore, when I had read thy Verse,
In Answer to't, I wip'd ——
And if thy Name thou'lt let me know,
I'll do so with the Author too.

FINIS.

TO THE DUTCHESS OF MONMOUTH.

3. *Geinus*: doubtless a misprint for "genius."

THE INNOCENT GAZER.

The first two stanzas of this appear anonymously and set to music in *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, IV, 309. "Lucinda" is changed to "Laurinda", and the order of the last two words in line 1 is reversed, probably for the sake of rime. As the music is also anonymous, it is impossible to say whether it is that written originally for the poem by King.

FRIENDSHIP.

Mrs. Philips has a poem entitled "A retir'd Friendship"; the thought and the phrasing of it suggest that Cutts may have read it. A few stanzas follow:

"Come, my Ardelia, to this Bower,
 Where kindly mingling souls awhile,
 Let's innocently spend an hour,
 And at all serious follies smile.

 "But we (of one another's mind
 Assur'd) the boisterous World disdain;
 With quiet souls and unconfin'd
 Enjoy what Princes wish in vain".

TO MY LORD SKARDELL.

This poem is to be found among the Cowper MSS. in the *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, IIIrd Report, Append., 187. It is there attributed to Lord Cutts. No other reference to Lord Skardell has been found; he may, indeed, have existed only in Cutts' imagination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acts of Privy Council*, 1680-1720, 1910.
- Addison, Joseph, *Musae Anglicanae*, 1699, II.
- Aitken, George, *Life of Steele*, 1889, I.
- Alison, A., *Military Life of Marlborough*, 1848.
- Anonymous, Music for "Only tell her that I love", British Museum Additional MSS. 31461; rotograph copy in the library of the University of Pennsylvania.
- Atterbury, Francis, *Sermons*, 1735-7, I.
- Barber, Henry, *British Family Names*, 1903.
- Biographical Dictionary*, The, 1784, IV.
- Boileau, Nicholas, *Oeuvres Poétiques*, 1885.
- Browne, G. F., *History of St. Catharine College*, 1902.
- Burke, J. B., *Genealogical History of the Dormant and Extinct Peerage of Great Britain*, 1866.
- Burnet, Gilbert, *History of His Own Times*, 1833, I, II, IV, V.
- Burton, J. H., *The Reign of Queen Anne*, 1880, I.
- Calendar of State Papers, American*, 1697-98, 1905.
- Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1675-6, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, published in various years.
- Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1708-14, 1879.
- Cambridge History of English Literature*, The, 1907 ff. VII-IX.
- Cantabrigiensis Graduati*, 1659-1787, 1787.
- Commons Journal*, XI.
- Compleat History of Europe for 1707*, The, 1708.
- Coxe, William, *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough*, 1847, I.
- Cust, Lionel, *National Portrait Gallery*, 1901, I.
- Cutts, Cecil H., *Genealogy of the Cutts Family in America*, 1892.
- Cutts, John, *La Muse de Cavalier, or an Apology for such Gentlemen, as make Poetry their Diversion, not their Business. In a Letter from a Scholar of Mars, to one of Apollo*, 1685.
- Cutts, John, Letters, in British Museum Additional MSS. 15895 (to Rochester, 1702), 28800, 28900-1, 28911, 28913-14, 28926 (to J. Ellis, 1696-1703), 29588-9 (to Lord Nottingham, 1702-3), 37157 (to —), 33273 (to Henry Watkins); rotograph copies of all but the last in the library of the University of Pennsylvania.
- Cutts, John, A poem on the death of Queen Mary, in *State Poems*, Part II, 199.
- Cutts, John, *Poetical Exercises Written Upon Several Occasions*, 1687.

- Cutts, John, Will. A copy is in the library of the University of Pennsylvania.
- Dalrymple, Sir John, *Memoirs*, 1771-3, 2 vols.
- D'Auvergne, Edward, *History of the Last Campaign in the Spanish Netherlands*, 1696.
- Davies, R., *Journal*, 1857.
- Dictionary of National Biography*, III, XIII, XXII, LII, LVIII.
- Dryden, John, *Works*, 1882-1893, III.
- Evelyn, John, *Diary*, 1879, II.
- Ewald, A. C., *Life and Times of Algernon Sidney*, 1873, II.
- Fletcher, J. B., *The Religion of Beauty in Women*, 1911.
- Fortescue, J. W., *History of the British Army*, 1899-1912, I.
- Goodwin, Thomas, *History of the Reign of Henry V*, 1704.
- Gosse, E., *From Shakespeare to Pope*, 1885.
- Gosse, E., *XVIIth Century Studies*, 1913.
- Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 14th, 15th Reports, published in various years.
- History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals*, 1703 ff., I-V.
- Hoby, Thomas, *Travails and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby*, 1902.
- Jesse, J. H., *The Court of England from 1688 to George III*, 1843, I.
- Kennett, White, *History of England*, 1719, III.
- Leadom, I. L., *Political History of England from 1702-1760*, 1909.
- Le Neve, Peter, *Monumenta Anglicana*, 1717, IV.
- London Marriage Licenses*, 1521-1869.
- Luttrell, Narcissus, *Relation of State Affairs*, 1857, I, II, III, IV, V.
- Macaulay, T. B., *History of England*, 1874-7, I, III, IV, V, VI.
- Mackinnon, Colonel, *The Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards*, 1833, 2 vols.
- Marlborough, Duke of, *Dispatches*, 1702.
- Masson, David, *Life of Milton*, 1859-94, III.
- Members of Parliament*, 1693-1705.
- Monthly Miscellany, The*, 1707, I.
- Morant, P., *History and Antiquities of Essex County*, 1768, II.
- Mullinger, J. Bass, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, 1888.
- Newdigate-Newdegate, Lady, *Cavalier and Puritan*, 1901.
- Nichols, John, *Select Collection of Poetry*, 1780, II.
- Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, X.
- Osborne, Dorothy, *The Love Letters of Dorothy Osborne*, 1888.

- Osborne, Peregrine, Marquess of Caermarthen, *A Journal of the Brest Expedition*, 1694.
- Parker, Robert, *Memoirs*, 1747.
- Parliamentary Debates*, V.
- Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719-20, IV.
- Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, The*, 1885-6, II.
- Rapin, P., *History of England*, 1785-9, Tindal's continuation, I.
- Roberts, G., *Life of the Duke of Monmouth*, 1844, 2 vols.
- Saintsbury, G., *Caroline Poets*, 1905, I.
- Salmon, Thomas, *Chronological Historian*, 1722.
- Schelling, Felix E., *The English Lyric*, 1913.
- Schelling, Felix E., *A Book of Seventeenth Century Lyrics*, 1899.
- Sheppard, E., *The Old Royal Palace of Whitehall*, 1902.
- Strickland, Agnes, *Lives of the Queens of England*, 1878, VII.
- Swift, Jonathan, *Works*, 1883, XII, XIV.
- Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 1869, IV.
- Trevelyan, G. M., *England under the Stuarts*, 1904.
- Trials and Condemnation of Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keyes, The*, 1696.
- Viëtor, Wilhelm, *A Shakespeare Phonology*, 1906.
- Visitation of Essex*, 1664-1668.
- Walpole, Horace, *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, 1759, II.
- Walpole, Horace, *Letters*, 1861-6, III.
- Walton, Clifford, *History of the British Standing Army from 1660-1700*, 1894.
- Wood, Anthony, *Life and Times*, 1891-1900, III.
- Worsley, Sir R., *History of the Isle of Wight*, 1781.
- Wright, T., *History of Essex*, 1831-5, II.

